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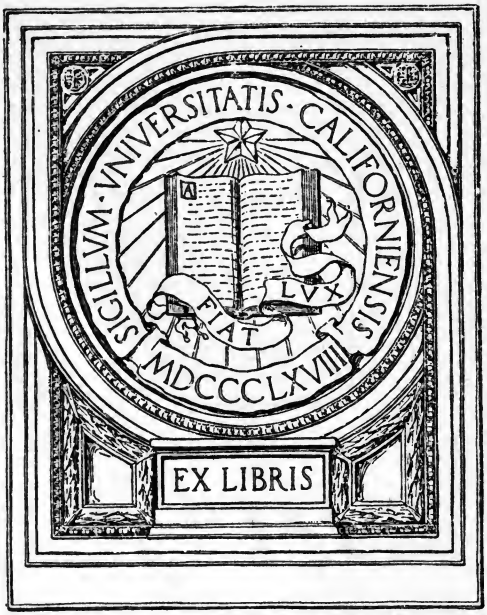
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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES

VOL. V

CANADA—PART III

GEOGRAPHICAL

BY

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BARRISTER-AT-LAW

FORMERLY STOWELL FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH MAPS

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PREFACE

My gratitude is due chiefly to Sir Charles P. Lucas, who suggested this volume, and kindly helped me by looking through my proofs; and after him to the authorities in the Libraries of the Colonial Office and British Museum, for their courtesy and attention.

Geography, with which this volume deals, has only to do with what is present, external, and physical; but Canada is composed of historical as well as geological strata, which do not merely belong to the past, but still remain exposed, visible, or even unconformable. Again, towns, mines, and wheatfields—which are the work of men's hands—are quite as external as woods, hills, and rivers; so that humanity inevitably intrudes even into a picture of external objects. Further, unity in spite of width is the most striking physical feature of the Canada of to-day; and this unity is due partly to the long eastward courses of the Saskatchewan and St. Lawrence, to climatic pressure from the north, and to interlocking watersheds, but partly also to those two great Companies, whose servants streamed incessantly between Labrador and Vancouver Island,—to political pressure from the south, and to the converging plans of philanthropists and statesmen for the development of the intermediate land.

The very frontiers of Canada are no mere seas or lines of latitude: but Canada is bounded, so to speak, by Cartier and Champlain on the east, by Cook and Vancouver on the west, by the Loyalists and Sir George French on the south, and by Parry and Franklin on the north—or by the ghosts and memories of these men. Saintliness made Quebec, Patriotism made Ontario, and Adventure made Western Canada into Provinces; so that spiritual forces—like Northern Lights—spanned the whole width of Canada from Ocean to Ocean. Materials, too, were brought from Europe, in order that the long house might hold together. Distant quarries were sought, and elaborate mechanism was applied; the stones from the quarries consisting mainly of human beings, and the mechanism consisting of human as well as mechanical energy. The very canals, roads, and railroads reflected political aspirations; emigration, which careless people thought automatic, was artificially created by Societies for alleviating industrial and military tragedies; Governments planted Halifax, Quebec, and Ontario with colonists, much as gardeners plant gardens with flowers from other regions; war helped to change the haunts of bison into the homes of men; and the sturdy self-help of pioneers, who, though they dreamed of a new heaven and a new earth, were loath to break with their past, or to turn their backs on the land of their fathers, peopled forests, plains, mountains, sea-shores, and river-banks.

Men's minds rather than Nature welded the Atlantic

with the Pacific across seventy degrees of longitude, and within two or three lines of latitude; and although a book on geography primarily deals with things, men, though something more than things, are after all things, and cannot be quite left out. I have not attempted nor have I the knowledge even to refer to all the processes by which, or to all the critical places in which, human materials have been deposited from time to time; but I hope that in attempting to indicate, by a few leading cases, some of these processes, and some of these critical places, I shall not be regarded as trespassing beyond the proper sphere of Geography, which I admit ought to limit itself to things present, external, and physical.

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CANADA

PART III.—GEOGRAPHICAL

CHAPTER I

THE FAR NORTH-LAND AND ITS HEROES

The northern frontier of Canada

By an Act of 1867 the provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were formed into a confederation called the Dominion of Canada;[1] 'Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory' (1870), British Columbia (1871), and Prince Edward Island (1873), joined the Dominion soon afterwards under powers contained in the same Act, and Orders in Council made in pursuance thereof; and in 1880 a further Order in Council[2] transferred to the Dominion all other British possessions in North America, including the attendant islands, but excluding Newfoundland and its dependency on the coasts of Labrador.

Consequently, the frontiers of Canada are—with this one exception of the colony of Newfoundland—the frontiers of British North America.

was ascertained during the search for a north-west passage (1576-1906).

One glance at the map suggests that nature and nature alone made the northern boundary; that on the east but for the colony of Newfoundland and on the west but for Alaska the same artificer was at work; but that the frontiers of Newfoundland colony and Alaska, and all the southern frontiers, were the work of men's hands. If the inference were drawn that these natural frontiers were first-created, self-created, and created without human sacrifices, the inference

[1] 30 & 31 Vict. c. 3.
[2] Order in Council, July 31, 1880.

would be a truism in one sense and the reverse of true in another sense. The coast of America and its islands existed before white men existed, but did not exist as frontiers until white men knew of their existence; and this knowledge was obtained after the last man-made boundary had been settled by war, treaty, or Act of Parliament, and was obtained by a deadly war against nature which lasted 283 years. The names of the men who waged this war or directed it from afar still consecrate its shores, and brave men's blood proved once more the only possible cement of the walls of empire. Although some of these warriors still live, they belong in spirit to the heroic age; for they fought not against human foes but, like Thor, against the frost giants; they displayed 'one equal temper of heroic hearts', and their doings and sufferings were on an heroic scale. Their aim was to discover a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Their results were to ascertain the northern shores of the American continent and northern frontiers of Canada. It is now known that the north-west passages, for there are more than one, are too icy to be used for trading with Japan, China, India, or any other country, and that all the northern shore of America which lies west of Hudson's Bay lies within the Arctic circle, while Hudson Strait, though situated in the latitude of the Shetlands and Faroes, is closed by ice for eight or nine months in the year, and Hudson Bay, though touching the latitude of Bristol, touches also the Arctic circle and is chilled all the year round by stores of never-melted ice which pour southward and eastward from Fox Channel. The north-west passages are all but unnavigable, the northern shores are all but uninhabitable; but great names and memories live in this dead or half-dead region, and here at all events geographers tread on holy ground, and geography if not history has proved itself synonymous with the biography of great men.

The first The first period of these discoveries (1576–1632) is still

commemorated by the names of Queen Elizabeth,[1] King James,[2] Prince Henry,[3] 'the young Marcellus of English history,' King Charles I[3,8] and Queen Henrietta Maria;[8] of famous statesmen like Sir Francis Walsingham,[9] Ambrose Earl of Warwick,[4] Robert Earl of Leicester,[1] George Earl of Cumberland,[2] Robert Earl of Salisbury,[5] Charles Earl of Nottingham,[5] Henry Earl of Southampton,[7] patron of Shakespeare and Virginia, William Earl of Pembroke,[7] patron of the Bermudas and of Ben Jonson, Sir Christopher Hatton,[4] Sir Walter Ralegh,[9] Sir Robert Mansell,[5] and Sir John Brooke (Lord Cobham);[6] of princely East Indian merchants like Sir Thomas Smith,[10] Sir John Wolstenholme,[5,10] Sir James Lancaster,[10] Alderman Sir Francis Jones,[10] or their ambassador Sir Thomas Roe,[6,7] or their advocate Sir Dudley Digges;[5,10] of great writers like Richard Hakluyt,[6] and Michael Lok;[1] and of the explorers employed by all these patrons, namely, Sir Martin Frobisher[1] (1576–8), whom George Best,[11] Charles Jackman,[3] and Christopher Hall[1] accompanied; John Davys[4] (1585–7) the friend and neighbour of Sir Walter Ralegh and of John Chidleigh[11] Esq. of Chidleigh, Devonshire; Henry Hudson[3,5] (1610–11), whose motto was to achieve what he had undertaken 'or else to give reason wherefore it may not be'; Sir Thomas Button[11] (1612) of Glamorganshire with whom Bylot Hubbart[6] and Nelson[6] sailed; Robert Bylot[10] (1615–16) with William Baffin[10] as mate; Luke Fox (1631)[6] assistant of Trinity House;[6] and Thomas James[8] (1631–2) a native of Monmouthshire, a sea captain of Bristol, and a barrister of the Inner-Temple. All these names and places are equally well known to historians steeped in Elizabethan lore and to illiterate whalers of to-day;

period of search, 1576–1632, was national;

[1] In Frobisher Bay.
[2] In Cumberland Sound.
[3] In Hudson Strait, middle.
[4] In Hudson Strait, east entrance.
[5] In Hudson Strait, west entrance.
[6] In Hudson Bay.
[7] In Hudson Bay, Southampton Islands.
[8] In Hudson Bay, James Bay.
[9] In Davis Strait.
[10] In Baffin Bay.
[11] In Frobisher Bay, east entrance.

and, if we except Bylot and Button Islands, the same names denote the same places, although here and there sea-changes have occurred, capes being transformed into islands, islands into sounds and straits,[1] straits into sounds, and sounds into straits.

and Hudson Strait and Bay were discovered by Frobisher,

The discovery of the northern frontier was a process; and its first period may be summarized thus: Martin Frobisher (1576–8) in the *Gabriel* (25 tons) examined not only Frobisher Bay but part of 'Mistaken Straits', as he misnamed Hudson Strait, and Cape Best or Hatton Headland, which is the southern gatepost to Frobisher Bay and the northern gatepost to 'Mistaken Straits'.

Davys,

Next John Davys (1585–7) in the *Sunshine* (50 tons) searched 'Cumberland Sound', which lies north of Frobisher Bay, and sailed north to 'Mount Ralegh' and 'Cape Walsingham' in 'Davis Strait', and south to 'Cape Chidleigh', which is the southern gatepost of Hudson Strait, and to Davis and Ivuktok[2] inlets in Labrador, lavishing Devon names wherever he went.

Hudson,

Then Henry Hudson (1610–11) in the *Discovery* (55 tons) passed right through Hudson Strait to 'Digges Island', and 'Wolstenholme Cape', which stand on the south side of its western entrance; and to 'Salisbury Island' which is opposite the very middle of its western entrance; whence he turned south along the east coast of the Bay, wintered somewhere in the far south-east, and was put into a boat with nearly half his crew, was cut adrift, and died an unknown death.

Button,

Next Sir Thomas Button (1612) in the *Resolution* and *Discovery* (55 tons) passed from 'Resolution Island', as the island of which Cape Best is the southern extremity was afterwards called, through Hudson Strait to Salisbury Island, whence he crossed Hudson Bay south-west to what he called 'Port Nelson' in 'New Wales' and wintered there. Next

[1] e.g. Cumberland Islands, Sir Thomas Roe's Island.
[2] Alias, Hamilton Inlet.

summer he coasted northward by 'Hubbart's Hope' (now called Churchill) to the west,[1] south, and east of the 'Southampton' Islands, whence he returned by 'Mansel', Nottingham' and Salisbury Islands through Hudson Strait home.

Baffin and Bylot (1615) in the *Discovery* (55 tons) explored *Baffin,* the east coast of Southampton Island a little further to the north than Button, and (1616) outdid Davys by sailing round the whole of 'Baffin Bay', discovering 'Smith',[2] 'Jones' and 'Lancaster' Sounds, which for aught he knew might be straits.

In 1631 Fox sailed in the *Charles* (70 tons) through *Fox,* Hudson Strait and Bay into 'Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome', as Button's Strait on the west of Southampton Island was thenceforth called. After following it northward, but not so far as Button's furthest, he coasted southward to the entrance of the Bay named after his rival (55° 10′ lat.), then sailed due north, passed through the chain of islands Southampton, Nottingham, Mansel, and Salisbury—which stretch from Hudson Strait to the western main—until he reached the Arctic circle in Fox Channel[3] far beyond Baffin's northernmost point in Hudson Bay, although far below Baffin's northernmost point in Baffin Bay. His names of places on the east coast of Fox Channel commemorate Trinity House and its officials.

James's voyage (1631–2) in the *Maria* (70 tons) resembled *and James.* that of Fox, for he followed all except the eastern coasts of Hudson Bay, but he did not go so far north and went further south, rounding 'Cape Henrietta Maria' and entering 'James Bay', where he wintered on 'Charlton Island'.[4] He divided Button's New Wales into 'New North Wales' and 'New South Wales', which names persisted until the end of the ensuing century[5]; and named 'New Severn River' in 'New South Wales'.

[1] Up to 62° 42′ lat.
[2] 78° lat.
[3] 66° 30′ lat.
[4] Charles I's town.
[5] See e.g. C. Middleton's Chart, 1743; and Arrowsmith's Map in Sir A. Mackenzie's *Voyages,* 1801.

The Hudson Bay Company built forts in Hudson Bay, 1668 *et seq.*,

After 1632 there was a pause of 186 years during which the geography of the northern coast line remained almost stationary while its history advanced. After 1668 Hudson Strait became a highway through which the Hudson's Bay Company sent annual ships to its factories or forts which began to line James Bay and the southern coast of Hudson Bay.

The earliest Governors of the Company (1670–91) were Prince Rupert, the Duke of York and Albany (James II), and John Churchill (Duke of Marlborough); Sir J. Haynes was its deputy governor (1675–85), and forts were built on 'Rupert River' (Fort Charles), 'Moose River', and 'Albany River' in James Bay, and on New Severn River, and between Nelson River and 'Hayes River' (York Fort), and on 'Churchill River' in Hudson Bay (1668–1688). The white man's range was 'the range' of coast line and timber trees; and all these settlements were on well-wooded coasts where Indians did not dwell but whither they gladly descended from the interior for purposes of trade. North of James Bay on the east coast, and north of Churchill on the west coast, the shores of Hudson Bay are timberless and bare and the resort of black and white whales; and where shores are bare and seas have whales, there Eskimos are always found 'with fat flat greasy faces, little black piercing eyes, good teeth, lank black matted hair with little hands and feet',[1] eating raw meat and sleeping naked in houses of stone or (in the Arctics) of ice and snow like the sugar huts in Grimm's fairy stories. After the treaty of Utrecht (1713) forts were built by the Hudson Bay Company at the mouths of East Main River[2] and Big River[3] on the east shores of James Bay, and for a time at Richmond Fort on Richmond Gulf (1749)[4] on the east coast

[1] Hakluyt Society Publications, vol. xi; Captain W. Coats, *Geography of Hudson Bay*, p. 73.
[2] Formerly Slude River.
[3] Fort George, now Fort Victoria.
[4] 56° 22′ lat. Coats, op. cit., p. 78.

of Hudson Bay, where a few trees chanced to grow, the object of Richmond Fort being to attract Eskimo traders who already frequented the coast between Hudson Strait and Little Whale River[1]; but in the west there were no trees north of the Churchill[2], and the same object was attained by sending annual tradeships up north from the Churchill as far as Whale Cove, a distance of 200 miles. Englishmen wanted seas and trees, Eskimos seas without trees, and Indians trees without seas. For more than a century after 1632 no one was a match for Baffin, Fox or even Button, in the extent of his knowledge, and geography stood still.

and further explorations were made in Hudson Bay, 1719 et seq.;

Then a small move was made. Explorers named James Knight, George Barlow, and D. Vaughan were sent out by the Hudson Bay Company to the north of Churchill in 1719, and were never heard of again until 1767, when their boats and bones were discovered on Brooke Cobham (Marble) Island. In the meantime men's hearts were touched with anxiety for those who had gone forth and had not come back; and men's intellects were stimulated. A controversy arose, some men arguing that Hudson Bay was like the Mediterranean, a closed sea with an outlet at Hudson Strait but without an inlet, and that Roe's Welcome and Fox Channels were *culs-de-sac* where the ice was created which beat against the east coasts of Hudson Bay and drove through Hudson Strait. If so, they said, the frontier of Canada lay far north of Roe's Welcome, Fox Channel, and Hudson Bay and Strait. Other theorists, notably Arthur Dobbs, contended that Roe's Welcome was not a *cul-de-sac* but a Strait which rounded some northern Cape a few miles north of Button's furthest, and that a straight line drawn from this northern Cape to the Pacific passed through open sea. Wild as the theory sounded, there was no one who could disprove it. So Sir Charles Wager, the First Lord of the Admiralty, sent out Christopher

[1] Coats, op. cit., pp. 66, 89.

[2] 59° lat.

Middleton and William Moor in King's ships to test it.[1] They sailed up Roe's Welcome, examined 'Wager Inlet' (which led only to a river), 'Repulse Bay' (which was a bay and nothing more), and noted a 'Frozen Strait' leading from Repulse Bay down the east coast of Southampton Islands, and returned. Middleton had reached the Arctic circle, and had found no thoroughfare; for his road merely took him round a corner back into Hudson Bay; but when he told his story he was disbelieved. Less weight was attached to his facts than to the arguments urged by controversialists whom Dobbs led.

and the mouths of the Coppermine, and Mackenzie, and Icy Cape were reached from elsewhere.

The next move was made by land, and the Hudson Bay Company was the moving spirit. In 1771–2 Samuel Hearne went overland from Churchill to the mouth of the Coppermine. He passed through the mountainless, mossy, treeless barrens of the reindeer and musk ox until he reached the Arctic circle, the sea, and the Eskimos, whom his attendant Indians slew. His adventures were vividly described, but his geographical information was vague, cloudy, and confused. Then two explorers whose geographical capacity was beyond cavil took up the tale. Captain Cook (1778) sailed with the *Discovery* and *Resolution* along the west coast of America and reported that it was continuous from 44° 55′ lat. northward to Icy Cape, which is beyond the Strait, whose exploration brought death and immortality to Bering (1741), and some three-and-a-half degrees within the Arctic circle. Then an employee of the Canadian North-West Fur Company named Sir Alexander Mackenzie started from Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca,[2] followed the Great Slave River northward to Great Slave Lake and Mackenzie River northward from Great Slave Lake to its mouth amid black whales and Eskimos.[3] The Rockies had already been seen from the Missouri

[1] Henry Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson Bay, 1746–7, for discovering a North-west Passage*, 1748, with map.

[2] 59° lat. [3] 69° lat.

and perhaps from near Calgary; the Indians who visited Fort Chipewyan brought stories of the same mountains; and now 160 miles west by north[1] of Great Slave Lake, Mackenzie began to catch glimpses of the self-same snow-peaks 'crowding together like conical waves' which are seen, and are never forgotten when once seen, from Calgary. Henceforth his day-dreams and night-dreams were filled with visions of a great range separating prairie land, the Athabasca, the Great Slave, and the Mackenzie rivers from the Pacific, and became what some people called mountain-mad. But to return. Icy Cape and the mouths of the Mackenzie and Coppermine rivers formed three fixed points on the northern shore of America, and all of them were within the Arctic circle. Possibly Repulse Bay, which was also within the Arctic circle, and the southern shore of Hudson Strait formed two more fixed points; if so, they were tied together by the familiar southern shores of Hudson and James Bay and formed one coast line; but as yet no one knew whether Hudson Strait was anything more than a larger edition of Cabot or Belleisle Strait connecting the Atlantic with a larger edition of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Meanwhile, at all these five points, dwelt Eskimos similar to one another in habits, manners, looks, and language. The Eskimos were the human and only threads which bound these scattered rags and tags together. The discovery of the three new fixed points did not solve, but only restated in more puzzling language, the problem of a continuous frontier, which was left where the stout Elizabethan mariners in their frail cockleshells left it.

The second period of search, 1818–39, was also national;

The second period of discovery (1818–39) began immediately after the battle of Waterloo; and we seem to pass from 1632 to 1818 without a break. There is the same heroic atmosphere as that which surrounded the Elizabethan group, and we are once more face to face with Christian patriots whose devotion, valour, energy, simplicity, and humility lift us

[1] c. 62° c. 30′.

into a region where the air is purer and men are nobler. These latter-day heroes attacked their problem by sea and land; but the mariners, unlike their predecessors, sailed in vessels of 300–400 tons, or more rarely of 150–170 tons, while the overlanders were half mariners and used boats resembling whaleboats. The royal patrons of the discovery were the prince Regent,[2] afterwards George IV; [7] his brother, the Duke of York,[2] the Duke of Cambridge,[6] and the Duke of Clarence,[2] afterwards William IV,[5.6] his wife Queen Adelaide,[5.6] the Duchess of Kent[5.6], and her daughter Queen Victoria.[6] Its official patrons were Henry Earl Bathurst,[1.7] Colonial Minister; Robert Viscount Melville,[1.3] First Lord of the Admiralty; Admiralty officials such as Sir John Barrow,[1.6.7] Sir George Cockburn,[4] Sir Thomas Byam Martin,[1] Sir Henry Hotham,[1] Sir Baldwin Walker,[2] Captain Thomas Hurd,[1.3] Sir Francis Beaufort,[6] and John W. Croker [1] (Macaulay's Croker).

Its private patrons were Sir Felix Booth,[5] Sir C. Ogle,[6] and the Hudson Bay Company under Sir John Pelly,[6.9] Nicholas Garry,[2.9] Sir George Simpson,[8] J. Berens,[8] A. Colvile,[8] Edward Ellice,[6] J. Halkett,[8] G. Keith,[6] McLoughlin, S. McGillivray,[6] and W. McTavish.[6]

The Duke of Wellington,[1.6] Sir William Cornwallis[1] (Nelson's friend), and Sir Joseph Banks [2] inspired it; George Earl of Dalhousie [7] and Matthew Baron Aylmer,[9] Governors General of Canada, and Sir Peregrine Maitland,[7] Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, assisted it; and Hyde Wollaston's[7] and Henry Kater's [1] instruments were used. The names of all these men are writ large upon the map of Arctic Canada

[1] Barrow Strait and north.
[2] Ibid. and south.
[3] Hecla and Fury Strait and south.
[4] Ibid. and north.
[5] Boothia Peninsula.
[6] North coast of America and its straits from Great Fish Estuary to Coppermine River.
[7] Ibid. from (and including) Coppermine River to Mackenzie River.
[8] Ibid. west of Mackenzie River.
[9] On the Continent.

along with the names of the explorers, amongst whom Sir William Edward Parry and Sir John Franklin were foremost. All the great explorers of this period except Sir John Ross derived their inspiration either from Parry or from Franklin, and Sir John Ross introduced Parry to the Arctics.

and Parry discovered the northern archi-pelago,

In 1818 Sir John Ross, with Lieutenant Parry, sailed round Baffin Bay in the *Isabella* (385 tons) and mistook all the straits and sounds, especially Lancaster Sound,[1] for Bays. In 1819–20 Captain Parry in the *Hecla* (375 tons) and *Griper*, with Captains Matthew Liddon and Edward Sabine, Lieutenants F. W. Beechey and H. P. Hoppner, Midshipman James Ross, and others who were destined to be famous, entered Lancaster Sound, which they pursued due west for 450 miles. The new Strait was named Barrow Strait, and they passed in succession North Devon (Liddon's County), Wellington Channel, Cornwallis, Bathurst, Byam-Martin and Melville Islands on their north, and Prince Regent Inlet, North Somerset (Parry's County), and after an interval Banksland on their south. Between Melville Island and Banksland never-melted ice towered aloft and blocked further progress. So Parry wintered in Hecla and Griper Bay (Melville Island) and during the winter explored the eastern half of that island, whereon the names of twenty of these explorers are commemorated.[2] On most of the islands of Barrow Strait present traces of musk-oxen and reindeer but only past traces of Eskimos were found, a sure sign that they were near but were not on the mainland of America. Another less convincing proof was that the explorers were already five hundred miles due north of the mouth of the Coppermine, and were gazing westward over an ocean of hummocky ice which had never thawed since the

[1] Between 74° and 75° lat.

[2] Parry Islands (for the whole group) and Cape Fisher, Point Nias, Point Reid, Sabine Peninsula, Point Griffiths, Point Ross, Beverley Inlet, Skene Bay, Point Palmer, Dealey Island, Cape Halse, Point Wakeham, Fife Harbor, Cape Hoppner, Hooper Island, Bushnan Cove, Cape Edwards, Cape Beechey, Liddon Gulf on Melville Island.

world began, while Banksland on their south trended south-westward. In 1821–3 Sir William Edward Parry in the *Fury* and *Hecla*, with Captain George Lyon, Lieutenant H. P. Hoppner, Midshipmen James Ross, Francis Crozier, and others no less famous, repeated Middleton's expedition, but continued northward along the whole east shore of what he called Melville Peninsula to an ice-choked strait which he named Fury and Hecla Strait. The mystery of Hudson Bay was solved. Fox Channel, some two hundred miles north of 'Fox's furthest', was fitted flute-like with a mouthpiece at right angles to it; and Cockburn Land lay above, and Melville Peninsula below the mouthpiece through which ice was blown from Prince Regent Inlet into Fox Channel, and so into Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait. The apex of Melville Peninsula[1] was an eastern apex of the American continent, and as usual it swarmed with Eskimos. After spending two winters in the Arctics Parry returned home and reached Prince Regent Inlet again next year from the north (1824–5) with many of his old companions and in the same ships; but the *Fury* was lost, and his lowest points were 'Cape Garry' on the west and 'Cape Kater' on the east of the Inlet. Cape Kater was only one hundred and thirty miles north-west of Fury and Hecla Strait, and the existence of an intervening coast was proved by Parry's successors, and more especially by Sir John Ross.

and Ross discovered Boothia and King William Island,

In 1829–33 Sir John Ross, with James Ross for companion and Felix Booth for patron, descended Prince Regent Inlet in the *Victory* (150 tons) and *Krusenstern*, passed Cape Garry, found and named 'Boothia Felix', which is a continental promontory, though nature seems to have intended it for an island; for the isthmus which joins it to the mainland is only thirteen feet above sea-level, seventeen to eighteen miles long and three parts lake, while a similar isthmus shadows this isthmus a few miles north of it. Besides exploring the

[1] 70° lat.

isthmus and its counterpart, and the eastern mainland, for fifty or sixty miles, and the magnetic pole on the west coast of the peninsula,[1] James Ross followed what he thought was the western mainland for one hundred and twenty miles as the crow flies, named it King William Land, and its western-most points Point Victory, Cape Jane Franklin and Point Franklin. Long afterwards this land proved an island and these names names of omen. Meanwhile Ross lay icebound on the east of the isthmus, abandoned his ships, took to his boats, and on arriving in Lancaster Sound after four years' absence from the world, saw a ship. A ship's boat put forth to meet him. What was the ship's name? asked Ross. 'The *Isabella* of Hull, once commanded by Captain Ross' was the mate's answer: and who was the questioner? 'Captain Ross.' 'Impossible,' replied the mate, for 'Captain Ross had been dead two years'. It was now assumed (rightly) that the mainland east of Boothia curved round to Fury and Hecla Strait, and (wrongly) that Boothia and North Somerset were parts of the same peninsula, so that the continent touched Lancaster Sound in the northernmost point of North Somerset.

and the north coast of the continents between Bering Strait and King William Island was explored by Franklin,

While Parry was engaged on his second voyage Lieutenant (Sir) John Franklin (1820–1) with (Sir) George Back, (Sir) John Richardson, Robert Hood and some French Canadians, repeated Hearne's exploit, but from Great Slave Lake,[2] not from the Churchill, reached the mouth of the Coppermine, called the Gulf, into which the Coppermine, Richardson, Hood, and Back rivers opened, George IV's Coronation Gulf, and returned by Hood River and the barrens to his 'fort'[3] on the edge of the barrens and just south of the watershed of the Coppermine. His provisions were exhausted. Winter had set in. The fort which he had requested the

[1] 96° 46′ 15″ long.; 70° 5′ 19″ lat.

[2] Fort Providence c. 62° 17′ N. lat. 114° 9′ long.

[3] Fort Enterprise at the head of Yellowknife River, which falls into Great Slave Lake.

Indians to provision was without provisions or Indians. Back crawled on to search for Indians. Franklin lay down and lived on offal. He was soon joined by Richardson, who was in charge of stragglers and had shot one straggler who had shot Hood and probably eaten two others. One or two others staggered into the fort. While they were dying inch by inch, and the last spark was being extinguished, an Indian whom Back had found arrived with food and they were saved.

In 1825–7 Franklin, Richardson, Back, and Kendall, after building and provisioning a fort[1] on Great Bear Lake, repeated Mackenzie's exploit and descended the Mackenzie River to its mouth in boats built after the model of whaleboats. Thence Franklin and Back coasted westward to meet Captain Frederick William Beechey, who was coasting eastward from Bering Strait. Franklin passed the boundary between Canada and Alaska; Beechey's mate, Elson, passed the northern apex of Alaska; and the two parties reduced the unknown part of that coastline to one hundred and sixty miles. Meanwhile Richardson and Kendall coasted to the east through 'Dolphin and Union Strait', which was named after their boats, and lies between 'Wollaston Land' and the mainland; and after reaching the Coppermine River they returned by land to the fort on Great Bear Lake.

Two of the five fixed points of the continental border, namely, the mouths of the Mackenzie and Coppermine, were now joined to one another, and a third, namely, Bering Strait, was nearly joined to them.

by Back, In 1833–5 Sir George Back and Dr. Richard King started east from Great Slave Lake, partly to ascertain the fate of Ross, but chiefly for purposes of exploration, crossed the watershed and discovered and descended the Great Fish River, which Franklin had heard of (1819),[2] to its mouth. The land

[1] Fort Franklin.

[2] As Thloueeatessy, *Narrative of a Journey to the ... Polar Sea*, 1823, vol. i, p. 143. Probably Hearne's Thele aza.

about its mouth was named 'William IV's Land'; a strange coincidence, for although Back had then heard of Ross's return, he had not heard that Ross had named his south-western goal 'King William Land'; and Back's 'William IV's Land', and Ross's 'King William Land' were explored by their discoverers to within one hundred miles of one another. The country traversed by Back was the abomination of desolation; a few miles east[1] of his fort[2] on Great Slave Lake, trees ceased, and there were barrens, barrens, barrens all the way. Thus a sixth fixed point was added to the coast-line of North America, namely, the Great Fish River.

and by Simpson.

The last expedition of this period was the only private venture of the Hudson Bay Company during this period. Thomas Simpson and Peter Warren Dease (1837–9), who were in command, explored the northern coast from Beechey's furthest to the Great Fish Estuary, which they traced a little further east than Back had traced it. Their boats *Castor* and *Pollux* gave a name to the eastern limit of their discoveries, which lay 57 miles south of the most southerly point reached by James Ross, and, strange to say, 120 miles south-east (not south-west) of James Ross's western-most point. But the wild geese were flying south, stars were seen in the sky, and food was scarce, so they too turned back with their task just unaccomplished. They noted land on the north of Simpson Strait, which they identified with Ross's King William Land and deemed a promontory of Boothia, and land on the north of Dease Strait, which was called 'Victoria Land'. Simpson and Dease proved what Franklin, Richardson, and Back partly proved and partly guessed, that the seaboard from Bering Strait to Boothia is fairly straight, except where the Mackenzie Coppermine and Great Fish rivers form estuaries, and is paved with ice from end to end, except where running rivers and land warmer than the waves

[1] At Artillery Lake. [2] Fort Reliance.

cut narrow streaks or pathways of water through the crystal sea during two short summer months.

The third period of search, 1845–59, was also national:

The godfathers and godmothers of the third period (1845–59) were the Duchess of Kent, Queen Victoria, her consort Prince Albert and her children the Princess Royal, the Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, Prince Alfred, and Prince Patrick (Duke of Connaught); Admiralty officials like Sir F. Baring, First Lord, J. W. Deans Dundas, W. A. Baillie Hamilton and John Parker; the Hudson Bay Company, to whose officials no new names except those of Shepherd and Matheson need be added; Lieutenant P. A. Halkett, who invented a portable boat; and the explorers, among whom Sir John Franklin was the central figure.

Rae searched between Hudson Bay and King William Island:

If we may for once anticipate events, John Rae (1846–7), acting on a suggestion made by Franklin in 1828 and 1836,[1] and under a commission from the Hudson Bay Company, traced on foot the whole coast between Fury and Hecla Strait on the summit of Melville Peninsula, and the base of Boothia Peninsula, thus joining Parry's north-western with Ross's easternmost limits. He passed the winter at the base of Melville Peninsula, which was a low isthmus, thenceforth called Rae Isthmus, forty miles across and seven-eighths lake, like that which formed the base of Boothia Peninsula; and in both cases there were two lines of lake across the isthmus. The land lay within the arctic regions, the only fuel was *Andromeda tetragona*, and he fed on reindeer which he shot or on seals bought from the Eskimos who lined the shore. The whole coast was now known from Bering Strait to Hudson Strait, but for two or three exceptions, which were—a strip of coast on the west of Boothia, a strip of coast on the west of North Somerset (if Boothia and North Somerset were indeed one), and fifty or sixty miles of what might be

[1] *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. vi, 1836, p. 43.

land or might be sea on the east of King William Land. These were the two or three dark places on the earth, the two or three riddles of the Sphinx which were as yet unanswered.

Franklin disappeared, 1845;

In 1845 Sir John Franklin, Captains Francis Crozier, James FitzJames, and one hundred and twenty-six doomed men, set out in the *Erebus* and *Terror* to sail the whole way from Lancaster Sound to Bering Strait and perchance to answer these riddles or else, in Hudson's words, 'to give reason wherefore it might not be', for they were men who meant to do or die. They were provisioned for three years and vanished in their first year. After three years a search for them began. This was the prologue of the drama.

and was sought for, first in 1848–9, by James Ross, Pullen, Richardson, Rae, &c.;

In 1848–9 Captains Sir James Ross and (Sir) F. Leopold McClintock and Lieutenants Robinson and Brown wintered in Barrow Strait and sledged along the east and west coasts of North Somerset, but not quite so far south as Boothia, and along part of the east coast of Prince Regent Inlet, but not so far south as in North Somerset; from Bering Strait Lieutenant W. J. S. Pullen went in a whale-boat to the Mackenzie; and from Canada Richardson and Rae, starting at a fort[1] on Great Bear Lake, repeated Richardson's feat of 1825–7, tried but failed to cross to Wollaston Land, although they conversed with Eskimos who had recently been there; and when the curtain dropped upon the first Act no new light had been thrown on the fate of Franklin or on the northern frontier of the continent.

secondly in 1850–2, by Austin and Ommaney and by sledge parties, from the north-east,

In 1850–1 a flotilla of vessels under Captains Horatio Austin and Erasmus Ommaney, Lieutenants Sherard Osborn, William Browne, F. Leopold McClintock, George F. Mecham, R. Vesey Hamilton, R. D. Aldrich, (Sir) Clements Markham, and Dr. A. R. Bradford, in the *Resolute*, *Assistance*, *Pioneer*, and *Intrepid*, renewed the search. Captains William Penny and Alexander Stewart, Dr. P. C. Sutherland, R. A. Goodsir and J. Stuart joined them with two other vessels; Sir John Ross, then seventy-three

[1] Dease and Simpson's Fort Confidence.

years of age, brought two more vessels, Captain C. Forsyth one more (1850), Captain William Kennedy and Lieutenant Bellot (1851–2) one more, and Lieutenant De Haven (United States) two more, the latter being supplied by the generosity of Henry Grinnell. These vessels met off and on in Barrow Strait, and Ommaney found on Beechey Island at the south-west of North Devon the spot where Franklin wintered (1846–7), but no record except an epitaph on the grave of one of Franklin's crew. Before the search had proceeded far, the vessels were frozen for the winter into beds of ice, some in Wellington Channel near its mouth in Barrow Strait, others in Barrow Strait near the mouth of Wellington Channel. Then sledges took on the task. McClintock went west to Melville Island, which he searched more or less as far as Liddon Gulf. Aldrich searched both sides of Byam Martin Channel, more or less. Penny, Stewart, Sutherland, and Goodsir searched both sides of Wellington Channel and of its continuation Queen's Channel more or less to its northern entrance between Capes which were named Cape Sir John Franklin and Cape Lady Franklin—ominously, as it proved. South of Barrow Strait a new island was found between Somerset and Banks Land, and was named Prince of Wales Island. Ommaney and Osborn searched half its west[1], and Browne[2] searched half its east coast. Lieutenant Bellot while searching North Somerset discovered that it was an island and that between it and Boothia Peninsula was a strait[3] more like a Greenland fiord than a strait, twenty miles long, one mile wide, four hundred feet deep or more, with granite walls fifteen hundred feet high. Bellot Strait, as it was called, became a new fixed point on the northern coast of Canada. Everything east of it was already known. On its west there were still two unjoined points which lay very near one another. James Ross's most northerly point on the west coast of Boothia was only one hundred miles south of the western entrance of

[1] Down to 72° 18′. [2] Down to 72° 49′. [3] c. 72° lat.

the new strait, and the coast sloped towards it. The west coast of Boothia, though a missing link in the chain, was no longer a mystery. Only one uncertainty, one crucial uncertainty, remained. The Achilles' heel of the problem was King William Land [1], along whose northern shore James Ross had been one hundred miles west of the point reached by Simpson from the west on a line of latitude [2] one degree lower than Ross's line. As yet no one knew that King William Land had an east coast and was an island, and no search party had reached within one hundred miles of it, although Bellot had been one hundred and thirty miles, and Browne, Osborn, and Ommaney had been one hundred and eighty miles on its north or north-west.

by McClure and Collinson, from the west,

Meanwhile Sir Robert McClure in the *Investigator*, and Sir Richard Collinson in the *Enterprise*, started from England for Bering Strait (1850), after passing which McClure followed a water line by the shore, as a miner follows a gold lead, or Theseus followed Ariadne's string, and it took him past the mouth of the Mackenzie north-eastward up a new strait, which he called Prince of Wales Strait, and which lay between two new lands, the left of which turned out to be Banks Land, and the right was named Prince Albert Land. He reached its ice-choked mouth some sixty miles due south of Melville Island, and wintered a few miles further south (1850–1). Thence sledge parties were sent out. Lieutenant W. H. Haswell sledged southward, where he found Eskimos; Lieutenant S. G. Cresswell followed the north coast of Banks Land, and R. Wynniatt the north coast of Prince Albert Land, until the shore turned to the south-east, and he reached a point sixty miles due west of Osborn's furthest point on the west coast of Prince of Wales Island and two hundred miles north-west of King William Island. Osborn's and Wynniatt's points are the Jachin and Boaz of what is now known as McClintock's Channel. Next year, unable to escape to the north, McClure

[1] 69° 31′ lat. [2] 68° 29′ lat.

retraced his steps through the Strait and sailed almost all the way round Banks Land until he stuck fast during a second and a third winter (1851–2) (1852–3) in the Bay of Mercy on the north coast of Banks Land, sixty miles south-west of Melville Island. The same wall of perennial ice which baffled Parry when sailing from the east in 1819–20 baffled McClure when sailing from the west in 1851–3. And there in his icy prison he must be left at present.

Collinson passed through Bering Strait in 1851, pursued the same clue up the same strait as that which McClure followed, found two of McClure's cairns with letters from him, and wintered with Haswell's Eskimos (1851–2). His sledgers unwittingly crossed the very tracks of McClure's northern sledgers. Next year he tried to advance, but was compelled to retreat, searched Prince Albert Inlet, which is between Prince Albert Land and Wollaston Land, and which he had mistaken for a strait, and then entered Dolphin and Union Strait and sailed east to Cambridge Bay in Victoria Land, just one hundred and thirty miles west of King William Land, which was now the only unknown place on the northern coast of America. His further career will be traced hereafter.

and by Rae from the south;

Rae was still on the trail, and after many efforts crossed Dolphin and Union Strait to Wollaston Land and hunted after the missing men along its whole south coast from the south edge of Prince Albert Inlet on the west, where he almost met Haswell, though he knew it not, to a point in east Victoria Land on the southern threshold of what is now called McClintock Channel (1851). He, McClure, and Collinson proved that Prince Albert, Wollaston, and Victoria Land are a single island, and when near his eastern terminus, some forty or fifty miles west of King William Island, Rae found a spar of English wood with a broad-arrow mark. He was unable to cross to King William Land, and returned with this intelligence to England. A ray of hope ushered in the second Act of the drama and a ray of hope shone as the curtain fell.

thirdly in 1852–4, by Belcher, and by sledge-parties from the north-east

Between 1852 and 1854 Captains Sir Edward Belcher, Sherard Osborn, and G. H. Richards, with W. W. May and D. Lyall in the *Assistance* and *Pioneer*; Captains Henry Kellett and McClintock, with Mecham, Vesey-Hamilton, B. C. Pim, E. F. de Bray and (Sir) George Nares in the *Resolute* and *Intrepid*, and Captain W J. S. Pullen and Dr. R. McCormick, in the *North Star*, once more entered Lancaster Sound. The *Assistance* and *Pioneer* were duly frozen into their winter quarters near Cape Sir John Franklin at the north end of Queen's Channel, while the *North Star* was left at Beechey Island near the south end of Wellington Channel, and the *Resolute* and *Intrepid*, after penetrating Barrow Strait as far as Melville Island, wintered there off Dealey Islet. Meanwhile McClure remained in Mercy Bay and Collinson in Cambridge Bay, fast bound in misery and ice. These seven ships did not make, but their sledges made geography. Each sledge had its name, flag, and motto, for instance, 'Persevere to the end', 'Endeavour to deserve', 'Be of good courage', 'Go forth in faith', 'Dangers do not daunt me', 'Success to the Brave' and 'Loyal au mort' (note the gender!) The sledgers remained out in winter for 100 days at a time, while the thermometer sometimes registered 100 degrees of frost and gales blew, and the longest journeys were 1157 sea-miles in 70 days (Mecham) and 1148 sea-miles in 105 days (McClintock). Belcher and his men went east along the north coast of North Devon, discovering Belcher Channel, North Cornwall, and North Kent, and made it clear that Belcher Channel led by Jones Sound to Baffin Bay; Richards, Osborn, Lyall, and May explored the northern coasts of Cornwallis, Bathurst and Melville Island, until they met McClintock on the top of Sabine Peninsula in Melville Island; Mecham went along the south coast of Melville Island, which he found to be twice as long as had been thought, and discovered and examined the southern half of Eglinton Island and the south-east, south, and west coasts of Prince Patrick Island; while McClintock

examined the east and north coasts of Melville Island and Prince Patrick Island and the northern half of Eglinton Island, doing everything which Richards on the east and Beecham on the south had left undone. The search was for the first time thorough and complete, but the islands were drawn blank except for the following discovery. A cairn built by Parry near Hecla and Griper Bay (Melville Island) had been used as a post office, where McClintock left a letter (June 6, 1851), which McClure found, and left a second letter (April 28, 1852) which Mecham found (October 12, 1852). McClure was in sore straits. His provisions were running short: his men's gums were rotting and their legs were swelling with scurvy, and he knew that Austin and Ommaney intended to return in 1851. Accordingly, as a counsel of despair, he arranged to send one-third of his men south, and one-third east, if haply they might find some one who would succour them. He and the remaining third were to stay at their posts for another winter. On April 15, 1853, the three parties were to take leave of one another, probably for ever; but on April 6 a wild lonely figure came rushing over the ice gesticulating and yelling like a madman. His face was black with frost-bite: but—was it possible? Yes, he was speaking English, and was not one of their crew. It was Lieutenant Pim, who brought a sledge party from the *Resolute*. McClure and his men were transferred to Kellett's ships, and the *Investigator*, which was frozen in beyond hope of release, was abandoned.

(they rescued McClure)

(Belcher abandoned four ships)

In summer Kellett's ships escaped from their position and sailed east, but were caught by winter ice before reaching Wellington Channel. Belcher's ships sailed south, but were caught by winter ice before reaching Barrow Strait. In spring, 1854, Belcher ordered the abandonment of the *Resolute*, *Assistance*, *Intrepid*, and *Pioneer*, and their crews sailed home in the *North Star* and some storeships, which were met further east. A year later, the *Resolute*, as if in

mockery of Belcher's orders, drifted by itself unguided yet scatheless, like the boat which bore Lancelot to the enchanted towers of Carbonek, out of Lancaster Sound down Baffin Bay to the very verge of the Arctic circle [1], where an American whaler found it and took it home. It was afterwards restored to England by the United States.

and by Collinson from the west,

And what of Collinson? From Cambridge Bay his sledgers explored the Coast of Victoria Land eastward a little further than Rae explored it, and found what Rae found; like Rae, he was unable to cross to King William Land, so he sailed west, and, after passing a third winter in the Arctics, repassed Bering Strait (1854) on his way home by the way he came.

and from the south by Rae, who heard of Franklin's disaster on King William Island.

And what of Rae? In 1853 Rae was sent out by the Hudson Bay Company from Hudson Bay, not in quest of the missing men but solely to throw light on the last unsolved mystery of the northern frontier of America. After tracing Chesterfield Inlet, which had been partially examined in 1763 [2] and 1792, he wintered as before on Rae Isthmus, re-examined Pelly Bay in the Gulf of Boothia, and reached Dease and Simpson's furthest point in the Great Fish Estuary. He then struck north and reached a point which Ross had reached on the west of Boothia Isthmus, thus proving that King William Land has an east coast which is separated by water from the west coast of Boothia. Rae and Collinson had already seen water on the west of King William Land, James Ross had seen water on its north, and Back, Dease, and Simpson had seen water on its south. Five expeditions of first-rate magnitude and difficulty were required in order to prove that King William Land was an island. Six search parties, conducted with consummate skill by Osborn and Ommaney, by Browne, by Bellot, by Wynniatt, by Rae, and by Collinson, had converged upon it from every point of the compass, except from the inhospitable south, had approached

[1] 67° lat.

[2] S. Hearne, *Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean*, 1795, p. 30 n.

it and retired. This Island is and always was the most inaccessible spot on the northern frontier of Canada. Nor was Rae able on this occasion to cross thither, want of food and boats and healthy men compelling him to return. He returned with thrilling news. Englishmen were mourning over the abandonment of five Arctic ships, and of Collinson, and over the unpenetrated and now impenetrable veil which hid Franklin's fate, when Dr. Rae announced, on the authority of the Eskimos of the Great Fish River, that Franklin's ships were lost on the north coast of King William Island, that his crew went south by the west coast to the Great Fish Estuary, where the last man dropped and died of famine in the month of May long ago, and that the throes of famine led to those nameless horrors which disfigured Franklin's first expedition. Moreover, he brought back plate with the dead men's initials and crests, which he had bought from the Eskimos who had bought them from the dying men. In 1855 James Anderson descended Great Fish River from Great Slave Lake and found more traces of the dead but none of the living; but he too could not cross to King William Island, as his boats were worn out and the great Lone Land through which he had journeyed had exhausted his supplies. Thus the last mystery of the continental coastline and of Franklin's fate and of the only practicable north-west passage was rent asunder. But there was a fourth Act to the drama.

In 1857-9 McClintock reached King William Island and confirmed the news.

In order to make certainty doubly certain, Lady Franklin and others sent out McClintock with W. R. Hobson and Allen Young in the *Fox* (170 tons) (1857–9). McClintock descended Prince Regent Inlet and steamed to and fro through Bellot Strait, which is the northernmost apex of north-eastern America, and which the Eskimos know of but seldom visit. Unable to proceed either on the east or west of Boothia, he wintered on the east of the strait, and dispatched sledge parties. Allen Young explored the whole south coast of Prince of Wales Island, between the points formerly reached

by Browne and Osborn respectively, so that the whole coasts of Prince of Wales Island, and the east shore of what was thenceforth called McClintock Channel, had now been traversed from end to end; McClintock and Hobson scoured the west coast of Boothia, which was the last missing link left between Bering Strait and Hudson Strait, and the whole coasts of King William Island and part of Great Fish Estuary. They saw the Eskimos whom Ross and Rae had seen, and on the north and west of King William Island and on islands in the estuary found cairns, implements, skeletons and clothes of white men, and brought home amongst other relics of the fallen a written record which was found in a cairn on Ross's Point Victory. According to the record, Franklin, after wintering on Beechey Island, sailed up Wellington and Queen's Channel, passed between what Penny prophetically named Capes Sir John Franklin and Lady Franklin, sailed down what was thenceforth named Crozier Channel, between Cornwallis and Bathurst Islands, descended what was thenceforth named Franklin's Channel between Prince of Wales Island and North Somerset, and was finally wedged into the ice within sight of what Ross prophetically named Point Franklin, Cape Jane Franklin, and last but not least Point Victory. Franklin died in 1847. In April, 1848, Crozier and FitzJames led one hundred and five survivors southward by the west coast towards Back's Great Fish River. There the story ends, and although Eskimo tales may not have been true in every particular, it can hardly be supposed that any of the band were alive when their first would-be saviours crossed the Atlantic, and what I have called the prologue to the drama was really a prologue in Heaven.

Everything was now revealed. Franklin and his men were the first to connect Ross's, Back's, Dease's, and Simpson's discoveries, and died in doing so. The answer to the last riddle which the Sphinx propounded was stern and terrible indeed. Like Berens and Hudson, Franklin bought glory

with his life and joined 'the lost adventurers his peers', wearing a crown of victory. The strangely prophetic names, Capes Sir John and Lady Franklin, Point Franklin, Cape Jane Franklin, and Point Victory, lend an almost eerie touch to a tale which even without it is written in 'starfire and immortal tears'.

Franklin's way by King William Island was traversed by Amundsen, 1903-6.

According to McClintock, Franklin might have been successful as well as victorious had he only known of the east coast of King William Island; and this criticism was justified by Herr Amundsen, who sailed along Lancaster Sound, Franklin Channel, and the east coast of King William Island, and then along the North American coast, to Bering Strait, thus passing from the Atlantic to the Pacific in one ship by the north for the first time (1903–6). This error of about ten miles in a voyage of twenty thousand miles or more meant the difference between Amundsen's exploit and Franklin's disaster. The way which Franklin all but found was not only a possible way but was probably the only way to the west; for Hecla and Fury Strait, and the straits between Melville and Banks Island, between the latter and Prince Albert-and-Victoria Island, and between the latter and Prince of Wales Island, are so far as is known always as impassable as Parry, McClure, and Collinson found them.

This search made the northern archipelago part of Canada.

It is sometimes asked why the archipelago of islands to the north of continental Canada are considered part of Canada. The answer is that the differences between straits and isthmuses and between islands like Southampton, King William and North Somerset Islands, and peninsulas like Melville and Boothia Peninsulas, are infinitesimally small, that the last crowning discovery which was made on the northern coast was the discovery that what was thought a promontory was really an island, and that the discoveries of these tiny differences cost the greatest amount of suffering and deaths. Even now maps are not agreed as to whether Cockurn Land is an island or a part of Baffin Land. Men sailed or walked

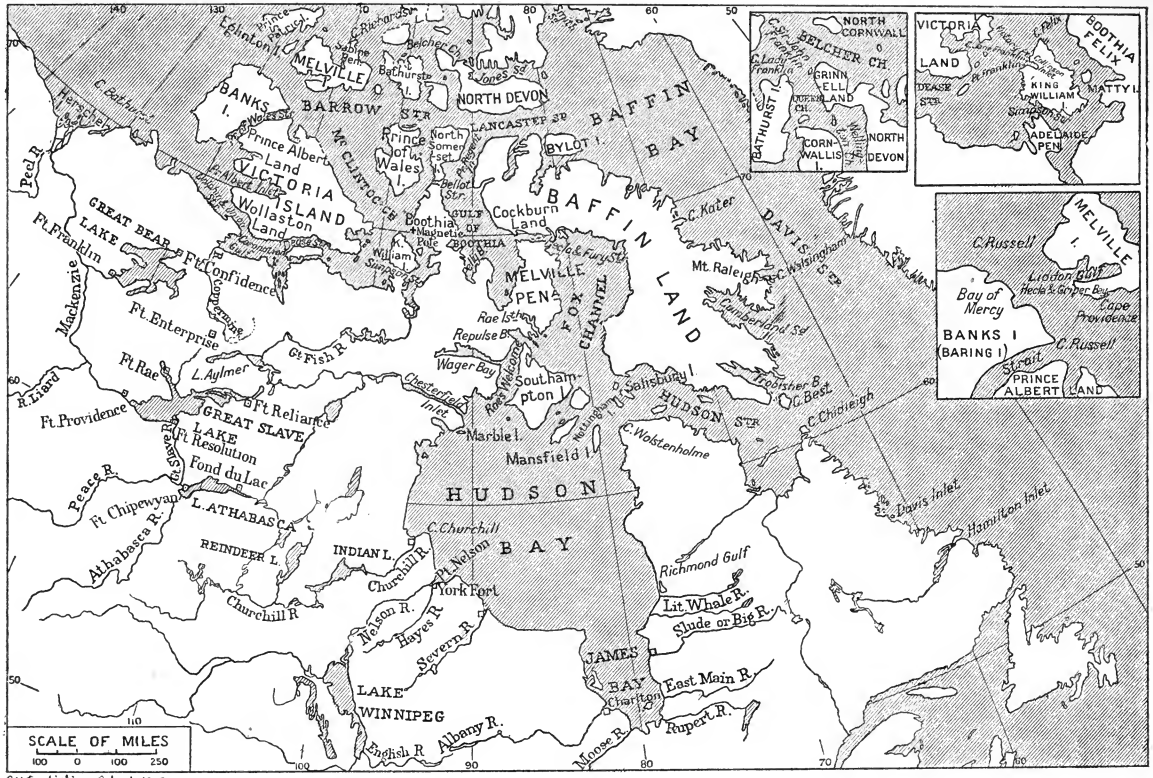
round every foot of every island coast—except some northern islands recently discovered by Otto Sverdrup (1898–1902), except too the greater part of Grant Land, and except a small strip of Victoria Land on the west coast of McClintock Channel, which was examined by Amundsen—before the real continental coast was ascertained, and in order that it might be ascertained. The very names of places denote that the island search and continental search were inextricably interwoven; names of landsmen like Garry, and of naval officials like Barrow, recur on both the insular and continental shores, and Beechey's name is found inland and on every coast. History decided that there should and could be only one search and one discovery, of which the search and discovery of the archipelago was an inseparable part. The very herbs and animals proclaimed the unity of the islands and the continent. The moss, *tripe de roche*, and ground willow on which reindeer, musk-ox, lemmings and hares feed; the lemmings on which white bear cubs feed; the white bear cubs, musk-ox, and reindeer on which the wolves feed; the hares on which the ermines and foxes feed; the purple saxifrage which allures the ptarmigan, which allures the owls and ravens; the seals which allure the white bears and Eskimos, thrive, and the feeders thrive, in winter as well as in summer, on the islands as well as on the mainland. But the principal tie is the human interest of the tragedy associated with Sir John Franklin, who explored on foot, in boats, and in ships of the Royal Navy, the continental barrens and shores and the islands and their shores, and perished in the fulfilment of a mission which equally concerned the waterways amid the northern islands and the delineation of the northern frontier of the American continent. The Dominion Government sends a steamer from time to time to control or save the whalers of Lancaster Sound and Barrow Strait; and Herschel Island, a little west of the mouth of the Mackenzie, is a rendezvous of American whalers from Bering Strait and

of representatives of the North-West Mounted Police, who also frequent the islands of Hudson Bay; otherwise these arctic islands and this arctic coast have once more resumed their primeval desolation; nor are they destined to become the theatre of history or the home of any one white man, and the only history of which they are or will be the theatre is contained in catalogues of names of kings, queens, princes, admirals, officials, men of commerce and explorers of a bygone age, names which mark their dates and illustrate their characteristic features in a way which resembles the mute records of the past furnished by geology. But the resemblance is not complete; for the names which are written on these shores are human names, and names which speak from spirit to spirit and eloquently perpetuate no mere succession of events, but an heroic tragedy in which Intrepid and Resolute Investigators pursued Discovery through regions of Sunshine, but also of Erebus and Terror and Fury, until their Enterprise and Resolution were rewarded with Victory.

As to the general Geography of Canada, S. E. Dawson, *Canada and Newfoundland* (1897), in Stanford's *Compendium of Geography and Travel*, is the leading authority.

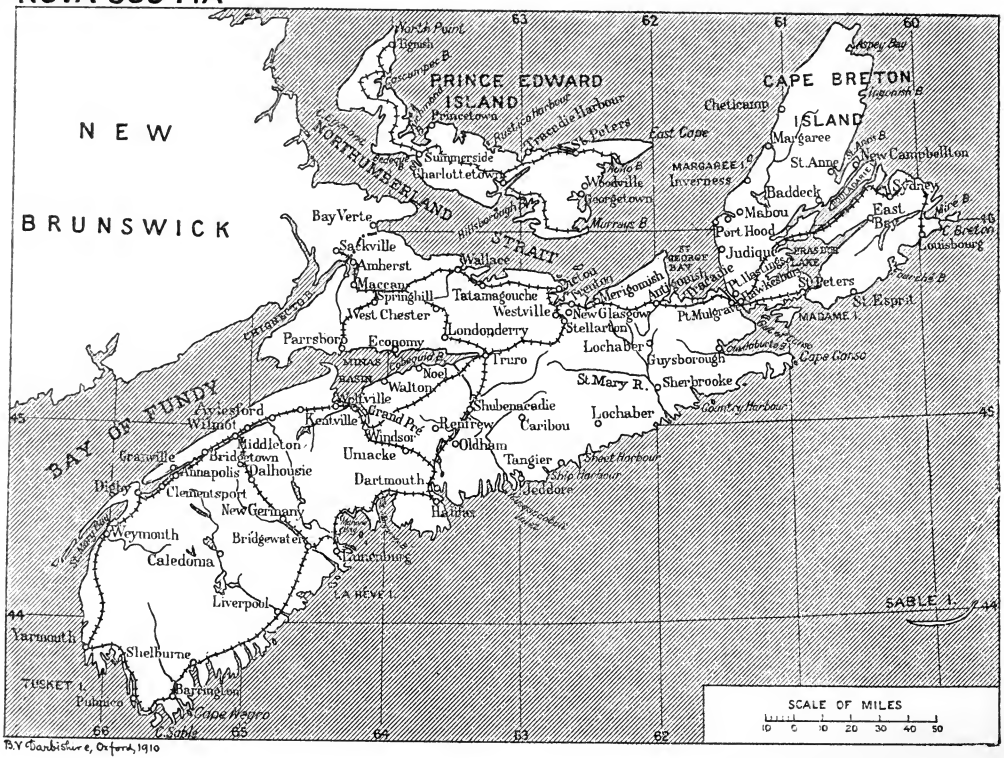
As to this chapter: besides references in the notes, the Hakluyt Society's Publications contain monographs on the Voyages of William Baffin (1881), William Coats (1852), John Davys (1880), Martin Frobisher (1867), Luke Fox and Thomas James (1894), Henry Hudson (1860), which illustrate the first period; during the second period Sir George Back, Sir John Franklin, Sir William E. Parry, John Rae, Sir John Richardson, Sir John Ross, Captain F. W. Beechey, and Thomas Simpson have been their own historians; and thirty-two Parliamentary papers (1847–58), indexed under the title of Arctic Expeditions, deal with the last Franklin expedition and the Franklin relief expedition. Sir Richard Collinson, Sir Leopold McClintock, Sir Robert McClure, Sherard Osborn, Peter C. Sutherland, Robert MacCormick, Robert Goodsir, Alexander Armstrong, and others, have also published their own experiences. There are English translations of the Voyages of Roald Amundsen (1908) and Otto Sverdrup (1904) to which reference has been made.

ARCTIC CANADA



B.V. Oxfordshire, Oxford, 1910.

NOVA SCOTIA



B.Y. Darbishire, Oxford, 1910

CHAPTER II

THE FAR EAST

Nova Scotia, the two Islands and their People

The four Maritime Provinces

We must now leave the Arctic solitudes for the hum of the market-place. Three thousand miles south-east of Herschel Island and two thousand miles south of Lancaster Sound are the Maritime Provinces.

are Acadia.

The four Maritime Provinces, all or some of which the French called Acadia, are the eastern vestibule of Canada. Three of the Maritime Provinces, Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, occupy the curving coast along the south shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the west shore of the Atlantic Ocean; and the fourth, Prince Edward Island, is an island in the Gulf, shaped like a new moon and mimicking the Gulf shores off which it lies. From 1763 to 1767 all four, from 1767 to 1784 the first three, from 1820 until now the first two provinces, constituted the Province of Nova Scotia; but in the following pages Nova Scotia will be used not in its political but in its geographical sense, which is also the political sense which it bore between 1784 and 1820 when the Province was the Peninsula of that name.

These four provinces lie east of the mountain range (if it may be so called) which throws off a succession of ridges between Central Alabama and the Shickshock mountains in the Peninsula of Gaspé, and is sometimes called the Appalachian range; and therefore they resemble New England and are unlike Canada proper in contour and character.

Their Geology includes Coal strata;

East of a bent line drawn from Digby (Nova Scotia) to Cape Canso (N. S.) and thence to Cape Breton are Cambrian or pre-Cambrian slates, into which granite from

time to time intrudes. The country is rough, stony, irregular, and dull of hue. It is unfertile, but has gold. Behind, from Digby to Truro (Nova Scotia) and thence to Chignecto isthmus (New Brunswick) on the left, and to the Bras D'Or and Sydney on the right, are later rocks of Silurian, Devonian, Carboniferous, Permian, and Triassic age; and the rose-red sandstones of Windsor (Nova Scotia), of the Bras d'Or (Cape Breton Island), and elsewhere, are usually Triassic like those at Dawlish, and the lily-white gypsum hard by is usually Carboniferous. The series is much the same as in Europe, but Triassic is the last and latest of the series in Nova Scotia, so that the newest rocks are brightest.

and their geography includes composite valleys,

From Digby to Wolfville what seems like a straight and narrow valley ninety miles long lies between two straight ridges, but this is both more and less than truth. The north ridge is a real ridge and is longer than it seems; for it begins west of Digby, where the sea cuts through it, then continues as 'North Mountain', which is sandstone with a trap-cap, to Cape Blomidon beyond Wolfville, where the sea again cuts through it; and then it continues as the Cobequid range, which is mainly Carboniferous, and extends behind Truro from the Permian flats of Chignecto Isthmus on the west to the Gut of Canso on the east. The seeming south ridge is merely the fringe of the Cambrian highlands; the seeming valley between the ridges is a composite valley carved out by two rivers rising in a low-lying bog, within a few paces of one another by the roadside,[1] running in opposite directions and named the Annapolis and Cornwallis; and the valley after passing Wolfville opens out into the Basin of Mines and its shores, until Truro and the hills behind Truro bring it to an end some sixty or seventy miles beyond Wolfville.

red rivers, and salt marshes,

All the chief rivers of the seeming valley, and of the Basin of Mines and of south Chignecto, are lazy, dirty, and red with slime and ooze, and as unlike the rivers of Quebec and

[1] Lieutenant Coke, *Subaltern's Furlough*, p. 395.

Ontario as it is possible for rivers to be; but the mud which they carry out to sea is returned by the tide with interest in the form of salt, sand, trap, gypsum, lime, and many other fertilizers. Moreover, the tides exceed even those of Ungava Bay, and are probably the highest in the world.

Access to the sea from Annapolis, Wolfville, and Truro is by narrow slits; Chignecto also communicates with the same sea by narrow slits; and the sea is not the open sea, but the funnel-shaped Bay of Fundy. Therefore flowing tides sixty feet high wash these shores, and ebbing tides scoop out drains and pile up dams. The land which is washed—or but for the dams and drains would be washed—by the tide is salt-marsh, and is extraordinarily fertile, especially when man adds his puny dams and drains to those which Nature has made.

and coal,

Because the series of rocks from slates to New-Red Sandstones is much the same in the West of England and the eastern Provinces of Canada, coal may exist west of Miré Bay (Cape Breton Island) but not east of it; at Sydney (C. B. I.), but not at Louisbourg. Again, the coast north of St. Anne's Bay (C. B. I.) is one of the few purely Archaean areas east of the Appalachians; therefore coal may be expected at New Campbellton (C. B. I.) and Broad Cove (C. B. I.) or to their south, but not in the Archaean area to their north. So, too, in Nova Scotia, Pictou, the Cobequids and Chignecto are rich in coal, but the Atlantic coast is too old for coal. In New Brunswick the coal area is vast, and yet hardly any coal is obtained.

New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island being somewhat different.

New Brunswick has three belts—a Cambrian or older belt from Shepody, where the salt marshes end, to Passamaquoddy Bay, a granite belt thence to Bay Châleurs, near Bathurst, and an Appalachian belt along the north border of the province; and these three belts form a Z, between whose upper and middle lines are Silurian and granite highlands 800 to 2,600 feet high, and between whose lower and

middle lines is a fertile Carboniferous plain 200 to 500 feet high, cleft by river valleys and ravines, but otherwise level and free from stone. These geological divisions are very visible even to a railway traveller. The change from stoneless levels to rough granite country at Petit Rocher station near Bathurst is almost dramatic; Moncton is obviously within the zone of salt marshes; the ninety-mile journey thence to St. John—along two straight valleys lying back to back, and separated by a watershed 160 feet high—is obviously within the Carboniferous zone, and St. John railway-station is in a cleft between unmistakable Cambrian or pre-Cambrian slate rocks and limestone rocks almost as old. The Carboniferous area is large and flat; therefore its coal is hard to seek and far to find, and New Brunswick hardly yields any coal. Nor does Prince Edward Island, which is an extension of the low-lying Carboniferous, Permian, and Triassic mainland, and is never 500 feet high. But then the Island—which Cobbett described as 'a rascally heap of sand, rock, and swamp', and a 'lump of worthlessness' which 'bears nothing but potatoes'—has loamy stoneless soil, grows corn, is fertile from end to end, and is known as the granary and garden of the Gulf, so that it need not seek wealth below the surface.

The littleness of these Provinces,

Each of the four Maritime Provinces is small: the smallest is fullest and the largest is emptiest: and the size of the three large provinces increases as we approach Canada proper.

		Sq. miles	*Population*
1901	Prince Edward Island	2,184	103,259
,,	Cape Breton Island	3,975	97,605
,,	Nova Scotia	17,453	361,969
,,	New Brunswick	27,985	331,120

e.g. of Cape Breton Island,

Prince Edward Island is a miniature, and the very form of Cape Breton Island conveys a sense of littleness. Two thin sea-arms passing on the east and west of Boularderie Island (C. B. I.), and known as the Little and Great Bras D'Or, lead to an inland sea, as long as Windermere, then to a Strait

spanned by a railway bridge, then to a second inland sea as long as Lake Constance, and lastly to St. Peter's Isthmus, which is half a mile across. These two seas though salt are still and small, like lakes, and are known as the Little and Great Bras D'Or Lakes respectively. The island is hollow within, and a canal through the isthmus of St. Peter divides its attenuated body into two halves. Elsewhere waterways which lie back to back, and are separated by low watersheds, almost cut it into long low-ridged slices, resembling Boularderie Island in shape; for instance, between Sydney Harbour and East Bay, between Miré Bay and Fourché, and at Lake Ainslie. The country is hilly but low, like Prince Edward Island, except near its northern apex, where the hills are 1,392 feet high. Thence, too, all down the peninsula is a range with hills, glens, burns, and lochs as pretty as in Wales; but the ridge vanishes and is replaced by dull tame flats at a village a few miles north of Port Hood. This prosy village, which dispels every vestige of romance, is named Glencoe.

of Nova Scotia,

The Gut of Canso, which divides Cape Breton Island from Nova Scotia, is often only a mile wide, and looks like a river or ice-cut ravine rather than sea, and trains cross it on steam ferries as though it did not exist. The very sea is small, and the land of Nova Scotia is low and narrow for its length. Though hilly, its hills are less than those of Cape Breton Island; at its thickest it is 70 miles across, and at its thinnest 30 miles across between Bay and Ocean (at St. Margaret's); and it is 15 miles across between Bay and Gulf at Chignecto. New Brunswick takes us amongst the mountains in its far north, and it has one river, the St. John, which is 450 miles long, tidal for 90 miles, and navigable by ocean steamers to Fredericton, 84 miles up-stream, or by river steamers to the Grand Falls, 220 miles up-stream: but for which, like its sister provinces, New Brunswick lacks height, length, and width. On the other hand, the prevailing littleness of the Maritime provinces is veiled by the vast American forest,

contrast with their

historic importance.

which clothes them throughout—except in very stony or very marshy places—with a coat of many colours; and their human geography is instinct with interest, variety, and sometimes tragic depths, presenting as it does a moving picture of great political Powers, and of still greater social forces, combining, dividing, and recombining, filling, emptying, and refilling large tracts, and of Acadians, New Englanders, Germans, British Americans, Ulstermen, Yorkshiremen, Highlanders, Lowlanders, Irishmen, and Englishmen supplanting or supplementing one another, and the writer who describes it inevitably lapses into narrative.

Acadians were from France,

Nova Scotia, which is the central object in the narrative, was once possessed—and parts of it are still possessed—by the Acadians, who, like the French Canadians, came from the apple-growing, cider-drinking districts of France, but were unlike, and were not of the same stock as the French Canadians, who came from a different part of France, at a time when France was not yet one. In the sixteenth century the secular rivalries of Brittany and Normandy were not dead, and the Guises poisoned the Seine from end to end with Roman Catholic intolerance, making Picardy, Paris, Perche, and Rouen strongholds of their League; while Tours, on the Middle Loire, was Henry IV's capital in his heretical days, and Brittany at the mouth of the Loire, and La Rochelle a little further south, maintained their hostility to Parisian centralization and orthodoxy long after Henry IV had bridged over the gulf between the two religious parties, and built his canal between the Loire and the Seine. Old Canada was colonized in three movements. Between 1608 and 1645 immigrants into Quebec from the Seine outnumbered immigrants from the Loire and its neighbourhood by five to one, and all but all the latter came in the last decade[1]; then things changed, and a second tidal wave brought two im-

not from the Seine, as were the Canadians,

[1] Benj. Sulte, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1905, vol. xi, Part 3, p. 99.

migrants from the Seine for every three from the Loire and its neighbourhood, but almost all the latter came without women and in 1662–3, which was too late to change the type which was already set. During the third and last movement (1667–72) there was a large inflow of women, and all those who came from country districts and went into country districts were from Normandy. The Seine, so to speak, flowed into the St. Lawrence and coloured it.

but from the Loire or near it.

While French Canada was being peopled from the Seine, Acadia was being peopled from the Lower Loire, or the country of dyked salt marsh and lagoon (or barachois) which lies between the mouth of the Loire and La Rochelle, and which afterwards became famous in history as La Vendée. De Monts, one of the fathers of the Acadian race, was from Saintonge near La Rochelle, and Pontgravé was Breton; De Monts's, Pontgravé's, and Poutrincourt's immigrants into Acadia were mustered and embarked at La Rochelle;[1] and they were the first body of men and women who went to the west to stay. Nicolas Denys of Tours and his brother De Vitré, his Breton partner, and Isaac de Razilly of Touraine, chose and led out to Acadia the emigrants of 1632, who and whose issue 'were', according to most historians, 'the Acadian race.' The lesser lights included Le Borgne, Lord of Belle Isle, who financed D'Aulnay and La Tour,[2] and Guilbaut of La Rochelle, who defended La Hêve with his henchmen (1658). True, La Tour was from east France, but he was Protestant, and his followers, who were referred to as 'Swiss', 'Protestant,' and rebel Rochellais, left no mark upon this country of Roman Catholic devotees. The colonizing Acadians were essentially from the middle west of France, and were often almost at war with the immigrants from elsewhere, such as De Saussaye and his men, who sailed from the Seine; Savalet, who was Basque; and Rossignol and Doublet, who were Normans. The Acadians still say 'molue' for 'morue'

[1] Lescarbot, Livre iv, ch. ix. [2] *Nova Scotia Archives* (1900), pp. 94–5.

as Denys did.[1] Although our historical evidence is incomplete and our philological evidence is scanty, yet, so far as they go, both point to the Lower Loire, La Rochelle, and the country between them as the cradle of the Acadian race. If so, the home which was chosen, or which they chose for themselves, in the new world contained vivid reflections of their old homes across the sea. This choice was partly dictated by conscious high policy common to all France, and was partly due to the childish memories and ingrained habits of those for whom and through whom the choice was made.

The French capitals were La Hêve and Annapolis whose harbours had narrow mouths,

French naval experts invariably preferred the harbour with the narrowest entrance, across whose mouth they could stretch a chain in time of war in order to save the ships that were within. This was why they chose as their Atlantic capitals Placentia (Newfoundland) (1663–1713), Louisbourg (Cape Breton Island) (1713–63), and La Hêve (Nova Scotia) (1632), and nearly chose St. Anne (C. B. I.) (1713), all of which have mouths less than half a mile wide. De Brouillan saw Halifax Harbour (Chebucto) and said that it was splendid, but too wide for defence[2]. In Digby Gut, on the Bay of Fundy, there was an entrance which was also half a mile wide into the estuary of the Annapolis, and accordingly Annapolis only ranked second to La Hêve in French eyes as a colonial site. Conversely, British experts praised Annapolis harbour, but blamed its narrow exit[3]; rejected Louisbourg, though ice-free, after careful thought, and La Hêve without a thought, and chose wide-mouthed Sydney (C. B. I.), and Halifax (N. Sc.), and were almost persuaded to choose Shelburne (N. Sc.) as their Atlantic capitals. British admirals wrote of exits as though harbour mouths were meant to be opened, French admirals of entrances as though harbour mouths were meant to be shut; for on sea the British were

[1] Abbé Casgrain, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1887, vol. v.

[2] B. Murdoch, vol. i, p. 247.

[3] e.g. Colonel Morse.

all for attack, and the French all for defence, or even escape. And there were other advantages in Annapolis and La Hêve. *and because of their river routes,* Indians came down Allen's River bringing fur to Annapolis from the interior; or passed up Allen's River, over a portage and down the Mersey to Liverpool on the Atlantic in four days;[1] this last route being the straightest river route between the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic in Nova Scotia. The La Hêve River is the largest river on the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, and Indians paddled up it or its branches either towards the Allen and Annapolis as already described, or towards the Nictaux and Middleton in the Annapolis Valley, or towards the Gaspereau, and so to Mines on the Basin of Mines. Therefore the French Forts at La Hêve and Annapolis became Indian markets. Moreover, both the La Hêve and Annapolis Rivers were navigable to sea-going ships, Bridgetown being the head of navigation of the Annapolis and Bridgewater of the La Hêve; although Acadian civilization barely reached Bridgetown and never reached Bridgewater, and the timber of the La Hêve deterred more than it attracted men who, unlike the French-Canadians, were loath to wield the axe or range the forest.

fisheries and salt marshes.

On the other hand, La Hêve was in the middle of an Atlantic cod-fishery, which was carried on by Frenchmen at Liverpool Bay (Rossignol), Tusket Island, Yarmouth (Fourchée), and perhaps at Lunenburg (Malagash) before 1632. The cod-fishery was spontaneous, and long after La Hêve was abandoned, sporadic temporary French fishing settlements appeared from time to time at Cape Negro (1671), Halifax Bay (1699 and before 1749), La Hêve, Shelburne (1705), Pubnico (1740)[2], and Lunenburg (before 1749)[3], and more permanent settlements at Cape Sable and Yarmouth (1736, 1740). Yarmouth, however, possessed more potent attractions for the Acadian imagination than cod-fish in its great

[1] Colonel Morse in *Brymner*, 1884, pp. xxvii, xxxvii.
[2] *Nova Scotia Archives* (1900), p. 244. [3] Ibid. (1869), p. 561.

Cheboggin salt-marsh. But the salt-marshes of the Lower Annapolis excelled those of Yarmouth. Salt-marshes, being without forest or stone, easily dyked, and when dyked very fertile, like those of La Vendée to-day, fascinated the Acadian mind with hopes of wealth and memories of home. The herring (*gaspereau*) and mackerel fisheries of Annapolis were to the cod-fisheries of La Hêve and its sister ports as the Bay of Fundy is to the Atlantic, but agriculture and dim recollections of the marsh-lands from which they came lured the Acadians once from St. Croix Island (1604–5), and once from La Hêve (1632–5), and made them cleave to Annapolis with the force of a natural instinct. Annapolis became the capital (1635–1749), an honour for which nature scarcely fitted it. Colonel Mascarene described the fort (1720) as on a promontory flanked by Allen's River on its left, and facing the Annapolis River, which ran on its north. There were two towns, one of docks and wharfs on the Annapolis underneath the fort, and the other straggling for a mile and a half along Allen's River. The dykes were out of repair and the banks overflown.[1] But for the dykes the description reads like a parody of Quebec: a parody, for the fort was only forty feet or so above river-level, there were no rocks, and the Annapolis was as different from the St. Lawrence as a mud-pond from an Italian lake. In 1755 houses lined each bank of the Annapolis, from Goat Island, some nine miles below, to Bridgetown, some fifteen miles above Annapolis, as though the river were a street.[2] Even so Arthur Young compared the banks of the Loire near its mouth to 'one continuous village' for thirty miles.

The Mines settlements were made because of their salt marshes,

From Annapolis the Acadians advanced to the salt-marsh between the Cornwallis and Gaspereau rivers, seventy miles to the east, and dwelt at Grand Pré, on its very edge, and under —not upon—the foothills which half surround it. Salt-

[1] *Nova Scotia Archives* (1869), pp. 43–5.
[2] *Nova Scotia Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 158.

marshes also lined the Cornwallis for a few miles, up to Kentville or thereabouts, and encircled the mouths of the little rivers, Habitants, Canard, and Pereau, themselves a few miles north of the Cornwallis; and around each marsh as close as close could be the Acadians hovered like fireflies. Fourteen miles south-east of Grand Pré, Windsor (Pisiquid) lay between the Avon and St. Croix rivers, along which were easy water-routes to the Atlantic at Chester Bay and St. Margaret's Bay respectively, and near whose mouths were the usual dyked salt-marshes and the usual settlers. All these settlements from the Pereau to Windsor were called the Mines settlements because they fronted the Basin of Mines. They were separated from the settlements on the Annapolis, and although De Brouillan in 1701 ordered the inhabitants of Mines to make a road to Annapolis, and some sort of road was used by English soldiers in 1746–7, the road was deemed 'almost impracticable' for the Acadian cattle and families in 1755.[1] Clearly the Acadian god was only god of the marshlands. Mines, said Colonel Mascarene, might easily be made 'the granary, not only of this province but of the neighbouring governments' (1720); long before 1746 the men of Mines had two far-off markets for their corn, Boston and Quebec; and the Quebec market and other magnetic attractions drew them eastward and northward. Truro (Cobequid), which is nearly sixty miles north-east of Windsor, was made a seignory in 1689, and was peopled by Acadians from Mines during the first war between France and England (1689–1713); and in 1748 the Acadians spread from Truro along a tract of sea-coast north of Cobequid Bay as far as Economy, and south of Cobequid Bay as far as the Shubenacadie River, with detached posts west of the Shubenacadie at Walton and Noel, and one inland settlement at the confluence of the Stewiacke and Shubena-

[1] Judge Morris, 'Remarks concerning the removal of the Acadians in 1755,' *Nova Scotia Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 158 (1881).

cadie fourteen miles from the coast. That is to say, they leapt from Windsor to Truro, and then stretched back towards Windsor as far as 64° west longitude. Their inland settlement was on the broad easy waterway which leads over a one-hundred foot watershed from Truro to Dartmouth in Halifax Harbour, some sixty miles away; but as yet no one except Indians had any occasion to use the waterway, because no one before 1746 wanted to visit the neighbourhood of Halifax. Before that date the mouth of the Shubenacadie was only valuable as the end of an avenue of Indian fur-trade.

so, too, the settlements at Chignecto and Shepody.

More than seventy miles away from Truro, on the other side of the Cobequid range of hills, which are here 600 or 700 feet high, were the famous salt-marshes of Chignecto Isthmus which Biencourt and Biard admired in 1612. Chignecto was reached from Mines as easily as it was from Truro by crossing to what is now Parrsboro Harbour, and by using the Hebert or Maccan Rivers, which rise at a short distance from Parrsboro; consequently a double stream of Acadians, both from Mines and from Truro, poured into Chignecto, after Chignecto (1676) and Truro (1689) became seignories, and even overflowed into the marsh-lands of Shepody (New Brunswick) at the mouths of the Petitcodiac and Memramcook (1698). War turned the Acadian tide thither: in the first great war the Acadian settlements of Chignecto were twice sacked by Colonel Church (1696, 1704); and in the second great war (1744–63), Beauséjour (Fort Cumberland) confronted Fort Lawrence (Beaubassin), and the dirty little Missiguash River, which ran—or rather crawled—between them, became the theatre of one of the decisive battles of North America (1755). For the French identified the Acadia, which the treaty of 1713 ceded to England, with Nova Scotia, and still claimed as their own the mainland west of the Missiguash which is now called New Brunswick. The modern distinction between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick is derived from this claim which was itself derived from La

Tour's claims and had nothing to do with geography, for one indivisible marsh lay on either side of the impalpable frontier-line of which the Missiguash was the outward and visible sign.

St. John was chosen because of its narrow harbour mouth and long river route.

New Brunswick, which now intrudes into our narrative, first figures in history as the transitory scene of the short-lived settlement on St. Croix Island in Passamaquoddy Bay (1604–5), but only became a permanent separate entity when La Tour built Fort Latour (New Brunswick), a few yards north of the present railway station of St. John (1635), and quarrelled with the Governor of Annapolis. The attraction of the site was threefold. First, there were the usual dykable salt-marshes down west towards Musquash Harbour; secondly, the fur-trade came down to the River St. John from the recesses of Maine (United States) and the neighbourhood of the River St. Lawrence; and thirdly, between what is now the Upper Town (Indian Town) and Lower Town the river contracts from a width of a mile or more to a width of four hundred and fifty yards, and forms reversible falls, which fall up-stream when the tide is high and down-stream when the tide is low, and are navigable at middle tide, and which are not unlike those of the 'Lac de Grand Lieu' near the mouth of the Loire. The river above the falls seemed an ideal place of refuge, and was used as such by Villebon when driven from Annapolis (1690), by the Acadians (1755), and even by Latour during his strife with Annapolis.

New Brunswick was separated from Nova Scotia for political reasons,

It was in order to allay this strife that the King of France assigned the American coast, beginning from the middle of Chignecto Isthmus to La Tour, and the rest of Acadia as far as Cape Canso, to his rival of Annapolis (1638)[1]. In modern phrase, one took New Brunswick and the other Nova Scotia. But the New Brunswick of 1638, besides being indefinite towards the west, contained an odd omission, and the Nova Scotia of 1638 contained an odd restriction. How, it might be asked, were the eastern coast-lands of New

[1] B. Murdoch, vol. i, p. 93.

Brunswick to be disposed of? Why was the sway of Annapolis to go as far as and no further than Cape Canso?

and both from the Gulf coasts and islands which were given to Denys.

In order to understand the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia of those days the scenes must once more be shifted and a new scene disclosed. In 1653–4 a third something, which was neither New Brunswick nor Nova Scotia but partook of both, was bestowed on Nicolas Denys of Tours. This new dominion extended along the Canso Gut and the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence from Cape Canso to Cape Gaspé (Rosiers); Newfoundland, Cape Breton Island, Prince Edward Island, and the other islands of the Gulf being thrown in as make-weights[1]. In a certain sense this sandwiched colony was well-conceived. Cape Canso was separated by two hundred miles of coast from the nearest Acadian settlements on the Atlantic, was inaccessible from land, and was a French fishing resort long before Denys was born and long after he died[2]. Thus Bergier of La Rochelle succeeded Denys as guardian of Canso (1682), and a French fort there was raided by Englishmen (1690), and an English fort there was raided by Frenchmen (1744). It was the headquarters of a great cod-fishery, which was French until 1713, and then English, or rather New English. The post was critical and isolated. Again, the slender isthmus of St. Peter's separates the Gut of Canso from the Bras D'Or Lakes, over whose placid waters the Indians brought their furs, and St. Peter's was easily converted into and soon became an Indian market and mission centre for the whole island. It was clear that Canso on one side of the entrance to the Gut, and St. Peter's on the other side, must belong to the same rulers. The Gut itself is only as wide as the St. Lawrence at Quebec or Montreal, so that its two sides

[1] Nicolas Denys, *Description of . . . North America*, 1672, ed. by W. F. Ganong (1908), pp. 57–67.

[2] e.g. of Savalet; Lescarbot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France*, ed. 1866, Livre iv, ch. ii; *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain* (1604–16), ed. by E. G. Bourne, 1906, vol. i, p. 133.

were and are indivisible; and as yet the Gulf Coast was a series of ports unconnected with one another except by water. Denys's posts were established from time to time at Guysborough (Chedabucto, Nova Scotia), where he quarrelled with a Sherbrook squatter (1667), at St. Peter's Isthmus (Cape Breton Island), across which he built the first road in the Maritime Provinces (1650, &c.), at St. Anne's (C. B. I.), where his brother grew wheat (1653), at Miramichi (New Brunswick) (1647), and at Nipisiguit (N. Br.) (1669). At his death the long line was already torn into shreds, two of which, at Miramichi and the mouth of the Restigouche in Bay Châleurs, fell to the lot of his short-lived son Richard (1689). Nicolas Denys and his son made something of their scattered coast-lines and introduced colonists, and dreamed dreams of a new dominion which should link Acadia with Canada. Nor did these dreams die with them, for they were based on nature and fact. But there were two weak points. How could the Bay side of the Isthmus of Chignecto belong to one authority and the Gulf side fifteen miles away to another? When Denys's son-in-law became first Seigneur of Chignecto (1676) this weak point was probed. Secondly, there was no capital. The foundation of Louisbourg on the Atlantic coast of Cape Breton Island remedied the latter defect, but aggravated and accentuated the former defect.

Louisbourg, when capital, revived Denys's dominion

Louisbourg, or Havre à l'Anglais, is a harbour on the Atlantic coast of Cape Breton Island, and in 1597 French Basques went there to fish, and men of Olonne in La Vendée wintered there in order to fish on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland.[1] To-day there are two conspicuous objects in Louisbourg Harbour: one, the old ruined fort, coiled like a green dragon upon a low grassy slope; the other, a brand-new elevated pier for loading ships with Sydney coal in winter, for Louisbourg Harbour is ice-free when Sydney

[1] Denys, op. cit., ed. Ganong, p. 181.

Harbour is ice-bound. Beneath both pier and fort fisher-folk may be seen drying cod on flakes in the same fashion as they still do at outports in Newfoundland and did at Louisbourg in 1597. The land near the French fort is low, and the principal French village was placed on a gradual slope, down which marshes trickle lazily into a salt lagoon which is now but was not then connected with the sea.[1] Doubtless the marshes were just sufficient to keep the ground clear of timber, and the lagoon suggested reminiscences of a better lagoon at Placentia which was not then but is now disconnected from the sea. For the colonists came from Placentia (Newfoundland) and even they must have been struck by the poverty of Louisbourg when compared with their old colonial home. When its garrison of 3,000 odd regulars went and the 30,000,000 livres—which they cost—was spent, Louisbourg, stripped of its adventitious pomp and glamour, became what it has been ever since, a fishing-village, only a little less wretched than Baleine (which Lord Ochiltree once tried to colonize)[2] and its other neighbours because of its proximity to the Sydney coal-mines. But the great fort galvanized adjacent French fishing-villages, from Sydney (Spanish Harbour) to St. Esprit, into life[3]; a small fort east of St. Peter's Isthmus induced small settlements on Isle Madame[4] and by the Inhabitants River; and a small fort at St. Anne's served as a base for summer settlers at Ingonish Bay. Denys's two sub-centres were revived, and they and the new centre at Louisbourg produced local effects. But the influence of Louisbourg was more than local. Three thousand soldiers clamoured for bread and meat, yet no land was cleared in the vicinity. A few

[1] See plan, p. 198 of vol. v, Pt. i, of this Series.

[2] 1629.

[3] (Sydney) Spanish Harbour, L'Indienne (Lingan.), Morienne (Cow Bay), Main à Dieu, Scatari, Baleine, Gabarus, Fourché, St. Esprit. See T. Pichon's *Letters relating to Cape Breton Island*, &c., 1760; Richard Brown, *Hist. of Cape Breton Island* (1869), p. 269.

[4] Arichat (Grand Nerica), Petit De Grat, Descous.

imported Germans at Miré Bay, twelve miles north, and when the St. Peter's-Louisbourg road, which is still known as French Road, was built, the inhabitants of St. Peter's, sixty miles south-west, sent supplies; but the cry was still for more. It was heard in far-off Mines, Truro, and Chignecto; and a military road from Beauséjour to Baie Verte, and cattle-tracts from Windsor to Truro, and from Truro to Tatamagouche and Wallace Bay (Remsheg), were constructed[1]. This was the first northward Acadian trek. The isthmus was crossed, and the first ports were opened on the Gulf coast of Nova Scotia in order to send meat and bread to Louisbourg. At the same time Port Hood (Just-au-Corps) (Cape Breton Island) was occupied by Acadians in order to supply it with stone.

but with differences.

It would seem that the ring of settlements from Gaspé to Louisbourg was complete, and that Denys's dominion had come to life again. But the new Gulf State differed from the old. The missing capital was found and faced Europe; so that it was a link not between Canada and Nova Scotia, but between Canada and France. Moreover, it tapped Nova Scotia, and ports were occupied on English as well as on disputed territory, on the Gulf as well as on the Bay of Fundy, through which the wealth and manhood of Nova Scotia began to drain away to a power at war with Nova Scotia. Or, to change the metaphor, what had been meant as a clasp was used as a wedge.

The Fall of Louisbourg caused an Acadian trek to the Gulf,

Then Louisbourg fell twice (1745, 1758) and Beauséjour once (1755). When Louisbourg fell first, those French colonists of Cape Breton Island who were caught were sent to France, but the Acadian trek towards the Gulf instead of being arrested was accelerated. The loss of Louisbourg meant the loss of a market; and amongst other causes economic distress drove 2,200 Acadians in 1749 from Chignecto to

[1] See e.g. *Nova Scotia Archives* (1869), p. 152.

Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Island,[1] but chiefly to Prince Edward Island, at which we must now glance.

e.g. to Prince Edward Island.

Prince Edward Island had been occupied in 1719 by two Norman families and in 1720 by 135 Frenchmen,[2] and in 1745 there were some 800 persons in the Island, some of them Acadians. In 1751, owing to the inflow of Acadians, the population probably exceeded 2,000[1]; and Acadians were still swarming in in 1752.[3] In 1752 Hillsborough Bay and River,[4] Crapaud, Tryon and Traverse rivers, and Bedêque Bay on the convex side, or the side turned towards New Brunswick; St. Peters, Savage Harbour, Tracadie, Little Rustico, and Malpêque (Richmond) Bay on the concave or Gulf side; and Souris and Fortune rivers, Lescoussier and Brudnelle (Three Rivers),[5] on the south-east side; and a little later, according to Lord Rollo (1758), North Point on the north-west side of the island had inhabitants: that is to say, the chief coves on every coast were inhabited, and more especially Hillsborough Estuary, where Port La Joie was the nominal capital. Moreover, the only road in the island ran from the head of Hillsborough Estuary to St. Peter's, and there were cornfields beside it. The Acadian trek from Chignecto made the coast line of Prince Edward Island overwhelmingly Acadian between 1751 and 1755. But the failure of the Louisbourg market was only temporary, and it was compensated, though inadequately compensated, by the creation of a new market at Halifax. Until the expulsion of the Acadians for political causes, the newly-created capital produced economic demands which checked the Acadian trek, and kept the Acadians in their old homes.

Halifax

Halifax, or the port of Chebucto, on the Atlantic coast of

[1] Brymner, 1887, cccxlvi, cccxlviii, ccclvii, ccclviii.
[2] *sic* Anderson; but see *Nova Scotia Archives* (1869), p. 48.
[3] *sic* Th. Pichon, *ubi supra*.
[4] Port La Joie (Charlotte town), Pinette River, Pointe Prime, Belfast, Wild Boar Creek, and Creek Northwest.
[5] John MacGregor, *British America*, 1832, vol. i, p. 290.

Nova Scotia, was the British counterblast to Louisbourg. Halifax was built in 1749: the port is one of the best ports in North America; and the city, like St. John, is a city on a rock; indeed, from the east it looks like a rocky island engarlanded with houses, except on its bare brow, on which a fort rests like a crown; but its rear is really connected by a rocky ridge with the mainland, nine miles away, at the head of Bedford Basin. It is distinguished from every other first-rate Canadian town by the absence of a river, and therefore of mills, cultivations, and trade routes behind it. It was midway between useful sea and useless land, or would have been but for two things. In the first place, on the opposite side of Bedford Basin, one mile away by ferry and twenty-six by rail, a supplementary town was founded at Dartmouth; and the series of lakes which all but connect Dartmouth with the Shubenacadie and with Truro begin half a mile behind Dartmouth. Indeed, the water-trip from Truro to Dartmouth was so tempting that Indians took it in 1756 and all but wiped out Dartmouth. In 1826 a Company was formed to convert the incomplete waterway into a complete canal, but the scheme failed owing to the shallowness and shiftiness of the Shubenacadie. Almost every first-rate Anglo-Canadian town has its supplementary town, which is usually a *vis-à-vis* town, and the reason for the reduplication is sometimes mysterious, but in this case was too obvious for words. Dartmouth was called into existence in order to correct the barrenness and isolation of Halifax.

was made English capital

In the second place, although there was no waterway, there was already a cattle trail to Windsor, which was used in 1746 when Duc d'Anville sheltered the French fleet in Halifax Harbour, and in 1749 when the Acadians drove 'one hundred cows and some sheep' to greet Colonel Cornwallis's colonists. Colonel Cornwallis immediately proceeded to make the trail into a road, which was continued to Annapolis. In 1784 this road from Halifax to Windsor and Annapolis was

and was joined to Windsor by a road,

the only carriage road in Nova Scotia. The road to Windsor is forty-six miles long, and passes through a sterile region, which only becomes fertile about nine miles from Windsor. It was built, with the help of Acadians and soldiers, not along any valley, nor in order to open up the interior to settlers, but in order to save Halifax from extinction. When Dartmouth failed, this road was a matter of life or death to Halifax. Without it Halifax which grew nothing would have been cut off from the Acadia where Acadians dwelt and grew everything; with it Halifax united the Acadians of Acadia with the English of England, although it was built too late to save Acadia for the Acadians.

and unified Nova Scotia.

And Halifax was more than a port, a rock of defence, and a possible inlet of Acadian wealth into England and of English wealth into Acadia. It was the first city ever built on the east coast of Nova Scotia, and it was built midway between Cape Sable and Cape Canso and their respective cod-fisheries. It brought these two places of resort under one control for the first time in history. Before then the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia was dominated from its two ends, which never met; and it almost seemed as though the Bay of Fundy represented an alien civilization. Halifax tied these three threads into a single knot. Louisbourg more than fulfilled, Halifax utterly shattered Denys's dream. Louisbourg disunited Nova Scotia while uniting Canada to France. The harmony had in it a discordant note. Halifax united Nova Scotia with itself and to England, and was a harmony through and through.

The new colonists comprised (1) soldiers, sailors, &c. of British origin:

The new colonists who arrived in Halifax (1749–52) were the first colonists who were not French, but it would be a mistake to infer that they were all of them from the United Kingdom. In 1781 the Lords of Trade wrote that 'it is not meant to encourage emigration from these kingdoms', 'the population being too much exhausted to admit of sparing any to populate distant territories.'[1] Such was the settled

[1] Brymner, 1895, pp. 28, 30.

policy of England, but an exception was now made in the case of (1) disbanded seamen and marines, who were reduced from 40,000 to 10,000 between 1748 and 1750; (2) of disbanded soldiers; (3) and of artificers and the like. Some of those who were disbanded had doubtless served, or even enlisted, in North America; if so, home fares and land grants were no more than what they expected. Artificers and soldiers were bracketed together as in French Canada.[1] The first consignments of intending settlers consisted of (1) 460 'mariners', ex-marines,[2] privateers[3] and the like, 73 naval or military officers, 86 old soldiers, 505 British or (rarely) foreign artificers and the like, 419 servants, 47 nondescripts, 509 wives and 444 children, or 2,543 in all;[4] (2) of about 2,200 German and other foreign Protestants, recruited by a Mr. Dick of Rotterdam, and his agent at Frankfort-on-the-Main; and (3) of New Englanders who came from Louisbourg when Louisbourg was restored to France (1749).[5] The third batch came at their own cost and risk; the first two at the cost of, and with promises of land and rations from the Government. Those of the first batch who were from Great Britain had probably melted away before 1767, because in that year there were said to be only 912 English-born and 173 Scotch-born colonists in the whole of the Maritime Provinces.[6] But this batch included, as we have said, a few Norsemen, Germans, and Frenchmen from near Belfort, who were miscalled Swiss, and may have included an indefinite number of English Americans. The second batch of colonists was all, or almost all, German. More than half of these Germans went seventy miles west to

(2) *German Protestants;*

(3) *New Englanders;*

The Germans founding Lunenburg,

[1] Part I, pp. 80, 101.

[2] Of Frazer's, Holmes's, Jordan's, Paulett's, &c.

[3] Belonging to *The Beaufort, Boyne, Hardwick, Lightning, Prosperous, Privateer, Raleigh, Royal Family, Salamander, York,* armed vessels, &c.

[4] *Nova Scotia Archives* (1869), pp. 506–57.

[5] In 1752 of the 4249 colonists in and near Halifax 3594 had British names. Ibid., pp. 650–670.

[6] *Nova Scotia Historical Society,* 1891, pp. 45–71.

Lunenburg, where they founded the second Atlantic city of Nova Scotia, built ships, and planted rye and barley, of which they raised 13,000 bushels at a time when no other Atlantic settlement of Nova Scotia except Chester raised 1,000 bushels of any cereal (1767). Lunenburg is near the La Hêve; and in 1765 S. Pernette, a British officer of German nationality, took up land, alongside of other British officers, on the La Hêve below Bridgewater, and he too introduced 'Germans and others as colonists'. All these Germans struck boldly inland. The Lunenburgers marched to Mines Basin and drove back 120 cattle, half of which arrived (1756); thus creating what was then the second cattle trail from the Atlantic to the Bay of Fundy. Long afterwards (c. 1805) the men of La Hêve, some of whom were German in origin, founded New Germany on the La Hêve, seventeen miles north of Bridgewater; and to-day almost continuous cornfields or orchards line the La Hêve below New Germany.

and the New Englanders supplanting the Acadians;

Soon after Halifax and Lunenburg were founded 6,000 Acadians were wiped clean off the map of Nova Scotia (1755 et seq.); the residue hid, fled, or were absorbed; and the same besom of destruction swept Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Island only a little less thoroughly. Louisbourg drew them north; in 1745 when Louisbourg fell their self-inflicted expatriation began on a considerable scale; ten years later their expatriation was intended to be universal and compulsory; and ten years later still every nook and cranny in Nova Scotia where they had ever been was owned or filled by New Englanders. Descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers came from New Plymouth to Yarmouth, Liverpool, and Barrington (Cape Sable), where one of them had 423 issue (and others in the States) before she died; Annapolis and Granville at one end of the row of marsh-lands on the Bay of Fundy, and Cumberland and Sackville at the other end, fell chiefly to the lot of Massachusetts; and so did Manchester township between Guysborough and the Gut of

Canso; men from Connecticut occupied Grand Pré, Horton, and Cornwallis; Rhode Islanders, Falmouth and Newport; and New Hants-men, Noel, Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry. Windsor also attracted New Englanders, but being vested in absentee officials at Halifax moved slowly; and experiments were played upon several Atlantic ports which failed.

In 1767—if the census of that year is to be believed—there were 6,349 British Americans, 2,710 British Europeans, 1,808 Germans, and a few hundred vanishing Acadians in Nova Scotia. There was a complete transformation. A dainty piece of old French porcelain was replaced by stout Boston hardware, and the colony became almost as British as Massachusetts itself. Except at Halifax and Lunenburg, there was no geographical novelty, but only a substitution of new for old faces in old places. Europeans built new seats for themselves; but Americans simply sat in the seats of those who had left. The Americans, however, brought European Britons in their train.

(4) *Ulstermen*

Throughout the eighteenth century the prohibition of the Irish wool-trade drove Scotch Lowlanders, whom Cromwell and William III had planted in Ulster, to Londonderry in New Hants and to Pennsylvania.[1] McNutt, who led the immigrants from New Hants, was himself a Scotch-Irish-Pennsylvanian, and many of his immigrants came direct from old Londonderry and Belfast. They were Presbyterians to a man, and ministers invariably accompanied Presbyterian emigrant bodies. Immigration direct from Ulster, or the Ulster invasion, as it is called, lasted ten years (1761–71), and before 1767 had added 2,165 persons to the population. It was spontaneous, collective, and unassisted, and it was the prelude to a second spontaneous and collective movement from the British Isles.

(5) *High-*

Other Acadian homes were vacant besides those by the

[1] John Doyle, *The American colonies under the House of Hanover*, p. 392 et seq.

land Roman Catholic ex-soldiers, &c. who supplanted Acadians in Prince Edward Island;

marshlands of Nova Scotia, and in 1767 the whole of Prince Edward Island was allotted to 67 proprietors, chiefly Scotch,[1] on condition that they should settle foreign European Protestants or British Americans on their land; a condition which they fulfilled by stocking the land exclusively with Highlanders, most of whom were Roman Catholic, and with Dumfries men. The island was divided into three counties corresponding with old French divisions, namely, King's (south-east), Queen's and Prince's County (north-west), each with a coast-line looking towards Gulf and mainland. The capital of King's was Georgetown (Three Rivers, 1,123),[2] opposite Port Hood (Cape Breton Island), and Pictou (Nova Scotia); the capital of Queen's was Charlottetown (Port la Joie: pop. 12,080),[1] opposite Baie Verte (Nova Scotia); and the capital of Prince's is now Summerside (Bedêque Harbour: pop. 2,875),[1] opposite Shediac Bay (New Brunswick). Nowadays steamers ply from Port Hood, or Pictou, to Georgetown and Charlottetown, and from Shediac Bay to Summerside and Charlottetown; or in winter men cross the ice between Baie Verte (Nova Scotia) and Cape Traverse (Prince Edward Island) and go overland direct to Charlottetown. The island is like some fair triptych with three different but related designs—a father, mother, and son, upon whom three different groups gaze, but the central is always the ultimate figure upon whom the eyes of all beholders are directly or indirectly riveted.

The Highland immigrants spread themselves in all three divisions of the island, but at first only along the Gulf shores, and before 1773 there were men from Argyle and Cantyre at Richmond Bay, Moray men at Cavendish, Perth men and others at Cove Head and St. Peter's, Dumfries men at Three Rivers, and Roman Catholic Highland ex-soldiers at Tracadie. Long after 1773 the Highlanders followed the Loyalists to

[1] Lord Advocate Sir James Montgomery; Judge Stewart; various officers of Fraser's 78th Highland Regiment, &c.

[2] Population 1901.

the other side of the island, where Belfast was settled by eight hundred Highlanders and Islanders under the auspices of Earl Selkirk (1803), and Woodville was colonized from Colonsay about the same time.

(6) *Highland Presbyterians, &c., who colonized Pictou:*

It was in 1773 that the Highland invasion reached Pictou Bay (Nova Scotia), which the Acadians had never touched, but which had been taken up by some enterprising Philadelphians in 1765 by way of experiment. Three rivers meet in Pictou Harbour—East, Middle, and West rivers, all of which flow through fertile uplands, especially West River. In 1767 dense forest spread from the Harbour to the nearest settlement at Truro, fifty miles away, when six families arrived there in a ship called *The Hope* from Maryland and Philadelphia. Some died, others left, and the hopes of those who remained grew dim. Suddenly in 1773 the *Hector*, commanded by Captain Ross and owned or hired by a member of the Company, deposited thirty families from Loch Broom, Sutherland, and Inverness, amid the half-starved remnant. The situation seemed desperate; but the newcomers with incredible exertion staved off famine and others joined them, chiefly Highlanders, but also some Dumfries men from Three Rivers (Prince Edward Island) (1775) and direct from Dumfriesshire (1788–9, 1801, 1815–17). Pictou soon became the Paradise of Highlanders who leave this hemisphere; and bishops, priests, and ministers who preached in Gaelic urged them thither. Down to 1783 the population was Presbyterian, but without a minister. In 1786 the Rev. James MacGregor arrived from Scotland; in 1790 the first house in the first village was built on the west side of Pictou Harbour and the village was named Pictou; and in 1792 the blazed trail to Truro became something that could be called a road. The English and Gaelic sermons and sacred songs of James MacGregor were the spiritual charm; European war (1793) and the lumber trade, which it created, were the material charm which attracted the Highlanders, who at the dawn of the

next century had penetrated into and reclaimed the forests at the very sources of East, Middle, and West rivers.

where class (5) joined them and went on to Cape Breton Island;

Meanwhile some Roman Catholic Highlanders and Islanders, some of whom were ex-soldiers of the 82nd Regiment, joined them in 1783 and 1791, and in 1791 some of these Roman Catholics went further east to Antigonish in St. George's Bay. Thence, at the instigation of Bishop McEachran of Prince Edward Island, some went still further east and crossed to the west coast of Cape Breton Island: and men from Lochaber, Strathglass, and the Isles soon began to people the coast, from the Inhabitants River in the Gut to Judique, Mabou, Port Hood, Broad Cove, and Margaree, from which easy routes led to the Bras d'Or Lakes. From 1802 to 1828 Highland emigrants went direct to Sydney and dispersed thence along the Bras d'Or and the east coast, reaching St. Esprit and the back lands during the twenties. This movement is said to have added 25,000 Highland or Island emigrants to the population of Cape Breton Island; and to-day Gaelic is the second language of the island. By far the majority were and are Roman Catholics; but St. Anne's (where Denys once was) and Wagamatcook were and are Presbyterian, and at West Bay and River Inhabitants the earliest stratum was Presbyterian. The reader may well marvel at the irony of fate. The State demanded foreign Protestants and vetoed other Europeans as colonists of Prince Edward Island, and by way of response not a single foreigner came; but Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton Island, and a large brand-new district of Nova Scotia, were promptly covered from end to end by Scotch Roman Catholics and Protestants from Scotland. Nor did any one note the *non sequitur*. State laws were not only ignored, but reversed amid applause; and an irresistible economic law drove the Highlanders and a few Lowlanders westward across the Ocean. Before 1745 the Highlands were the home of the McIvors and their idle retinue, whose names scarcely suggest economic

(Scotch immigration being due to economic causes.)

associations, but after 1745[1] sons of the Highland widow were drafted into the army, while others of the unemployed settled down to sheep-farming and soon found that five men were doing less than the work of one man.[2] Accordingly disinterested philanthropists and interested graziers sent the superfluous four to the colonies at their own expense. At the same time Highland ex-soldiers in colonial wars were rewarded by land grants in accordance with colonial tradition. The year when serious sheep-farming began to penetrate and deplete the Highlands is usually quoted as 1767[3], the very year when Prince Edward Island was sold to Scotch proprietors and the first invitation was issued to the Highlanders to emigrate.

(7) *Yorkshire Methodists at Chignecto;*

The Ulster and Highland Scotch invasions were attended with two minor invasions, both of which are associated with Governor Francklin. From 1772–4 some Yorkshire Methodists settled in Chignecto Isthmus at Sackville and Amherst, near the old forts, and on the Nappan and Maccan, side by side with the British Americans—many of whom they supplanted during the War of Independence. After 1765 the whirligig of time changed Great Britain's rôle from that of protector of British Americans against French and Canadians into that of protector of French Canadians against British Americans, and it seemed inconsistent to bolt and bar the door any longer against the Acadians, some of whom were accordingly restored.

(8) *restored Acadians,*

In Nova Scotia the restored Acadians were settled (1) on the Clare coast between Weymouth and Yarmouth (1768), and on Tusket Bay between Yarmouth and Fort Latour, at Eel Brook, Abuptic, and Pubnico, where La Tour's descendants might still be seen in 1829 and 1908; (2) on the dyked

[1] One regiment dates from 1740.

[2] e.g. in Rum Island; see Report III on Emigration, 1826–7, qu. 2907; comp. James Anderson, *Account of the Hebrides*, 1785, p. 168.

[3] e. g. by Traill. Comp. Lord Selkirk, *Observations on the Highlands*, 1805, pp. 113, 171.

marshlands of Minudie, close by the Yorkshiremen; and (3) at Pomquet Tracadie and Au Bushee, a few miles east of Antigonish. Here the exiles have clung and thrived. Frenchmen have also been observed on the Chezzetcook (Musquodoboit) and at French Village (St. Margaret's Bay), east and west of Halifax respectively, and at John River (Tatamagouche Bay); but the two last, and probably the first of these settlements, consisted of some persecuted Huguenots from the east of France [1], and were therefore not Acadian.

whom Jerseymen attracted towards Denys's Dominion;

As for Cape Breton Island, in 1764, one hundred and fifty Frenchmen, or Acadians of Canso, sailed away to St. Pierre and Miquelon (which are the only North American islands belonging to France) [2], and others left from elsewhere in the neighbourhood for Miquelon, and the Magdalens about the same time.[3] At the very same time some merchants of Jersey and Guernsey (which are the only French-speaking European islands belonging to England) set up a large fishery establishment in Isle Madame (1764) and Cheticamp (1770), and proceeded to set up similar establishments in other French-speaking Gulf ports, namely, Belleisle Strait (on its north), Prince Edward Island (on its south-east), Miramichi (New Brunswick), Caraquet (N. B.), and Paspébiac (Gaspé) as though Denys's mantle had descended upon them. They wished to act as political peacemakers as well as captains of industry [4], and had acted similarly forty years earlier in what was then the French-speaking part of Newfoundland. Even to-day their establishments at Belleisle Strait, Cheticamp, Isle Madame, and Paspébiac, not to speak of minor establishments elsewhere, exercise a political as well as an industrial influence. Soon afterwards sixty Acadian families were lured back by

[1] From near Belfort; see George Patterson, *Hist. of Pictou*, 1877, pp. 126–133. John MacGregor, *Br. America*, vol. ii, p. 127.
[2] *Nova Scotia Archives* (1869), p. 349; *Scots Magazine*, 1765, p. 661.
[3] R. Brown, *Hist. of Cape Breton Island* (1869), pp. 357, 408.
[4] B. Murdoch, *Hist. of Nova Scotia* (1867), vol. ii, p. 436.

the music of their native tongue from St. Pierre, Miquelon, and the Magdalens (1) to Isle Madame and to Grande Rivière, Ardoise, Tillard, Bourgeois, and False Bay on the adjacent mainland (1768-93), and (2) to Cheticamp and the Lower Margaree River, all of which are to-day Acadian or French settlements; and those who came back in 1793 settled too in (3) the Little Bras d'Or and at Ball's Creek on Sydney Harbour, where the strip of land between Sydney Harbour and the Little Bras d'Or is thinnest, and are there still. A handful of Acadians seem never to have left Port Hood.

As for Prince Edward Island, in 1773 the refluent Acadian tide reached (1) its north-west corner near Cape Egmont, where John MacGregor found in 1832 a centenarian who had peopled three neighbouring villages with his issue, from which they soon spread round North Point to Tignish and Holland (Cascumpec) Bay; (2) Rollo Bay and its neighbourhood at the other end of the island; and (3) the north-west corner of Rustico Harbour, on the north; and the living burden has remained where it was deposited.

In each of these three provinces—Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island, and Prince Edward Island—the Acadians were redistributed, or redistributed themselves, in three isolated districts, some of which were very near their old homes.

(9) *Loyalists filled up intervals on coasts,*

Hardly had the old exiles returned, when a new wave of exiles surged over the land. The Loyalists were expelled from the United States, not by thousands but by tens of thousands. The movement began in 1777 when Boston was evacuated, 'took form,' as Sir Guy Carleton wrote, 'in 1782,' and reached its climax in 1784, when 28,347 were 'settling' —as to 11,047, in New Brunswick; and as to the rest, 10,995 on the Atlantic coast, 5,481 on the Fundy coast, and 824 on the Gulf coast of Nova Scotia. The population of Nova Scotia was more than doubled.

On the Atlantic coast the Loyalists tried to create at Shel-

burne a new capital which was not wanted, and, if wanted, would have been in the wrong place. Possibly they argued that Louisbourg and Halifax were made and did not grow, but forgot that when Louisbourg and Halifax were made they were the only Atlantic cities, that they were necessary military and naval depôts and had a political *raison d'être*. There was no room for a second Halifax: moreover, Liverpool and Lunenburg were already growing into maritime cities; therefore the 7,923 Loyalists who thought they could found a big town by building many houses dwindled to 300 in 1818 and are now 1,500. The city, that was to be, shrivelled into a fishing-village like Louisbourg. Between Shelburne and Halifax 651 settlers were dotted here and there amid earlier settlers; and between Halifax and Guysborough 604 settlers broke more or less new ground at Musquodoboit, Jedore, Ship Harbour, Sheet Harbour, and Country Harbour (Stormont); and at the end of the line—three hundred miles long—Guysborough was occupied by 1,053 settlers. The extremities of the line were strongly held, and Halifax was in the middle; but land links were wanting, and accordingly roads began to be built from Guysborough to Halifax,[1] and from Halifax to Chester, and so to Shelburne. The continuity of the Atlantic coast, the supremacy of Halifax, and the principles of roads with a political significance, which were asserted for the first time in 1749, were reasserted in 1784 with redoubled emphasis.

On the north of Nova Scotia, Weymouth, Digby, and Clementsport[2] (west of Annapolis), and Wilmot and Aylesford (east of Annapolis), were occupied for the first time, making the line from Mines to Digby complete, and extending it, with the help of the Acadians of Clare, to Yarmouth, Barrington, and the Atlantic coast. Similarly Loyalist settlements on the Upper Kennetcook and Nine Mile River joined on Windsor to Truro; Parrsboro supplied the missing link

[1] Completed shortly after 1800. Haliburton.
[2] Hessians were put here.

between the north coast of Cobequid Bay and the south coast of Chignecto; and the loyalists of Wallace on Wallace Bay, and of Arisaig, between Antigonish and Merigomish, and the disbanded 84th, who 'cleared immense tracts' between Merigomish and Pictou and 'raised large families', and proved 'the best body of settlers we have ever had',[1] performed similar yeomen's service on the Gulf shore. In 1788 a few stragglers were at Baie Verte and Tatamagouche, so that a girdle now ran round the crooked coast between Windsor, Truro, Parrsboro, and Sackville; across the isthmus of Chignecto to Baie Verte; and between Baie Verte, Pictou, Antigonish, Pomquet, Manchester, and Guysborough. Nova Scotia was surrounded by settlers, and the circle was fairly complete owing to the new lands of the Loyalists.

and replaced or supplemented New Englanders,

The Loyalists were also grafted on to old stocks, and even here set their own original mark. To-day not only is the trough of the Annapolis and Cornwallis valleys one apple-orchard, but most of the uplands and parts of the two ridges, which confine it on the north and south, are cultivated. The Loyalists and their kinsmen who were already there went from the river-banks to the wooded slopes and heights; and at Wilmot[2] crossed the Northern ridge and settled by the sea. At or near Grand Pré, some left the marshes, and cleared the Gaspereau Valley and the uplands between it and the marshes; and others clave to the marshes, where they built far better dykes than their predecessors, and reclaimed Long Island, and annexed it to and made it a part of Grand Pré.

and settled on roads along with others.

No inland settlements were deliberately planted except on main roads, for instance, at West Chester on the road between Londonderry and Sackville (c. 1784), at Preston on the Guysborough Road, at Boydville and Mount Uniacke on the Windsor Road, at Hammond's Plains on the Chester Road, and at Dalhousie Settlement (c. 1820) on the straight cross-

[1] Jos. Howe, in *Report III on Emigration*, 1826–7, Qu. 4113, &c.
[2] Includes Middleton, Laurencetown, Wilmot, &c.

grained road which Sir John Sherbrook set soldiers to cut from Halifax through Hammond's Plains to Annapolis. Mount Uniacke was colonized by Roman Catholic Irishmen, who came 'by way of Newfoundland' in order to evade the Passenger Acts, and were probably the first of their kind (c. 1819). The Irish Roman Catholics who may be seen to-day, especially at Dartmouth, came in after this date—after, that is to say, the seals had been impressed upon the wax and the wax had hardened. Preston, Boydville, and Hammond's Plains are each within twenty miles of the capital, and were assigned to bodies of negroes, who, after six or seven years' trial, were sent away to warmer places; and Dalhousie Settlement was composed of disbanded soldiers who were rationed from Annapolis, and was one of the last of its kind in the Maritime Provinces. The inhabitants of Liverpool proved bold inland pioneers, like their neighbours of Lunenburg, and pushed northward to Caledonia, Pleasant River (Brookfield), Harmony, and Kemptville on the way to Annapolis; and the road from Liverpool to Annapolis was partly the cause and partly the effect of their enterprise (1804). Settlements between Dartmouth and Truro preceded the road: thus in 1786, when the trail was mostly 'an avenue of felled trees', there were wayside cottages along its whole length where the wayfarer might feed three times a day on fish, bread, and tea.

Immigrants re-immigrated inland.

In one case straggling trail-makers from neighbouring settlements were the cause not only of a new road but a new town. In 1800 some Truro men bought the sites of Sherbrook, on the lower reaches of St. Mary's River, of Glencoe at its forks, and of Lochaber on its north branch above the forks and sixteen miles from Antigonish, and cut their way thither through the forest. At this date, as we have seen, the Highlanders of Pictou were already at the sources of East, Middle, and West rivers, and they now pushed on to Caledonia on the west branch of St. Mary's. The Highlanders of Anti-

gonish came to Lochaber; and the Highlanders of the Gulf soon met, not at Truro on the Bay of Fundy, as they used to do, but at a colony from Truro on the St. Mary's, washed by the Atlantic tide and named Sherbrook. Sherbrook is the only Atlantic settlement created by overlanders from the Bay or the Gulf, and it was created by overlanders from both. Roads between Antigonish, Pictou, Truro, and the Atlantic followed the overlanders: the overlanders did not follow roads. The lumber-trade spurred them into the forest where they had the courage to live alone; but they farmed wherever they went, and roads and towns followed their footsteps.

In Prince Edward Island Loyalists filled up intervals and went to the capital.

In 1784 three hundred and eighty Loyalists and discharged soldiers took steps to settle in Prince Edward Island; and between 1784 and 1792 the only new settlements were on the mainland side of the island, ten between Bedêque and Murray Bays, and three near East Cape. The main stream, which had hitherto been directed towards the Gulf side, was now diverted to the side which faced the sister colonies. The fee-simple of the land was already sold to absentees, and Loyalists were daunted by the agrarian situation, against which Yorkshiremen alone were proof, many of whom came from Chignecto, turned tenants, introduced scientific farming, and went inland, if a man can be said to go inland in a country where he is seldom five and never ten miles from salt water. Many Loyalists left or concentrated themselves in Charlottetown, which is the capital of the Island, and which was afterwards recruited from every county of the United Kingdom. The miscellaneous character of the capital was due to two causes. First, every capital is a mirror of its country; and owing to the land being locked up immigrants came slowly, and the later type was unlike the earliest type, which was exclusively Highland or Loyalist. After Waterloo, Lowland hand-loom weavers, who formed part of Cormack's colony of New Glasgow (1819), Roman Catholic Irishmen (whose names are especially frequent among latter day settlers at

North Point, at Richmond Bay, and on the South coast, and some of whom came from Newfoundland), and the English unemployed contributed their quota. Thus in three years, 1831–3, ships from Tobermory, Greenock, Dumfries, Bideford (*bis*), Plymouth, Yarmouth, and Waterford (*bis*) discharged passengers at Charlottetown, and the archaic Highland element was overlaid with strata of every epoch and variety. Secondly, every capital—especially if it is an immigrant's port—is apt to become an amalgam of many creeds and races. It is so in Halifax and Sydney as well as in Charlottetown.

In Cape Breton Islands Loyalists founded Sydney:

In 1784–5 Sydney, Baddeck (on the Bras), and St. Peter's Isthmus were colonized for the first time, and they were colonized by Loyalist refugees. Sydney really consists of two low-lying towns five miles apart, one of which is North Sydney on the north entrance of the north-west arm, and the other of which is Sydney on the south entrance of the south-west arm of Sydney Harbour. Four or five miles above Sydney, the south-west arm contracts into Sydney or Spanish River, which leads to a watershed under one hundred feet high, and so to East Bay, which is an arm of the Great Bras d'Or Lake. To-day this route is dotted with houses and gardens, but in 1799 there was not even a trail from East Bay to Sydney, though the distance by land is about fourteen miles and by sea about eighty miles. The line of extension did not lie in this direction. But there was a forest road straight from Sydney to Louisbourg, the elder brother whom it had supplanted (1785), and along this road, twenty-four miles long, there were and are some scattered settlements, and above this road the whole coast as far as Morienne Bay has a series of rich coal-mines. To-day Sydney, though not a coal city herself, is the capital of a group of coal towns which include Dominion, Caledonia, Bridgeport, and Glace. It is supposed that Glace has 15,000 and Sydney 14,000 inhabitants, so that the suburb exceeds the city, from which it is thirteen miles by train. The big

and Sydney became a coal and steel centre.

coal business has even revived Louisbourg (pop. 1588),[1] which is used as an auxiliary port in winter, is connected with the coal towns by railway, and is growing. But Louisbourg, the coal port, is on the north-east cove,[2] three miles from Louisbourg, the French fort. Moreover, the Dominion Steel Company have their principal works a mile or two below Sydney, so that Sydney owes its position to its steel as well as to its coal. As coal port and coal centre, Louisbourg and Glace respectively assist Sydney on the south side of the harbour. Sydney also requires an assistant port on the north side of the harbour, for the coal-mines cross the harbour mouth and reappear at Sydney Mines (pop. 7,000?)[3] and further north. North Sydney (pop. 5,000?)[3] performs this function and serves the larger town in its rear, as Sydney serves Glace. Being near coal and steel, both Sydneys are industrial cities. Like all capitals, they are not cast in any one mould, but the visitor is surprised at the indisputable predominance of the Scotch type in the Sydneys. The Acadians of Ball's Creek, and the Italian and other cosmopolitan workmen in the mining towns, are merging in a common type, but the Scotch type persists. Yet the founders of Sydney were not Scotchmen, but North American Loyalists. The second coal centre of Cape Breton Island is Inverness (pop. 2,000?),[3] on the west coast, which consists of some two hundred red twin houses, each twin isolated from its neighbour, and all arranged, or about to be arranged, in the familiar American parallelogram. Inverness coal extends to Mabou and Port Hood (pop. 550)[3], where similar miners' houses may be seen; but Port Hood, unlike Inverness, is a port, and has traded with Newfoundland for one hundred years or more. The principal port of these coal towns is Port Hastings in Canso Gut, with which Inverness is connected by railway (fifty-six miles). Three miles beyond Port Hastings is Hawkesbury,

[1] Population, 1901. [2] See plan, Part I, p. 198.
[3] Population now.

but Hawkesbury and Mulgrave, its looking-glass town on the Nova Scotian side of the Gut, owe much of their importance to their position on the main line from Sydney to Halifax and Quebec. Before re-crossing the Gut let us cast one last glance back.

Cape Breton Island was complete, 1820–30,

With an account of the Acadians, Highlanders, and Loyalists of a century ago, and of the miners and railway men of to-day, the human geography of Cape Breton Island is all but complete. During the last century pervasive Irishmen mingled with pertinacious Scotchmen on the Bras d'Or Lakes, and Scotchmen reached Aspey Bay. Indians have increased from three hundred to five hundred and fifty, and live on their reserves at Escasoni (East Bay), and near Whycocomagh and Baddeck, and on Chapel Island (close by St. Peter's Isthmus), whither they flock annually as they did in Denys's time. These are small addenda and tiny finishing touches, but for which, and for the mines, railways, and capitals, the crude outline was a finished sketch in 1820, or somewhere between 1820 and 1830.

when Canadian unification

The date is equally significant in the history of Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia. While Cape Breton Island was being peopled and was making sure of a separate existence for itself, it was politically separate from Nova Scotia (1784–1820); when its separate existence was secured and its character was formed, it was re-annexed to Nova Scotia. The reason for this paradox was war and the effects of war. After the Canadian War (1812–14) the proposed union of all the Maritime Provinces with Quebec, by an intercolonial road far from the American border, filled the air. The road was a good carriage road from Halifax to Moncton before 1828, and in 1842 it was a post road as far as the Restigouche. The first and only thought which inspired Nova Scotians and Cape Breton Islanders, when Cape Breton Island attained man's estate, was union with the Western Powers.

Again, in the Twenties, English Committees and Commissions on Distress preached Emigration as its cure, and statesmen began to pour streams of Irish, English, Lowland, and Highland emigrants into the colonies. Huge land-companies were formed for the purpose. The land-companies of the Twenties peopled some new districts in New Brunswick, many in Quebec, and more in Ontario, but none in Nova Scotia or Cape Breton Island, for they were already full. On the other hand, the land-companies were, or were assisted by, agricultural and mining associations, and the mining associations set to work at Sydney in 1827, and on Nova Scotian coal in the same year, but they only brought prosperity to prosperous districts and did not change the country.

and English emigration began seriously.

A man might walk from end to end of Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia, using Haliburton's *History* (1829) as guide-book, and without finding anything except what he expected to find. He would shake hands with a great-grandson of an 82nd Highlander at Pictou Landing, and would learn from Haliburton that that spot was granted to the 82nd Highlanders in 1784; he would find Antigonish Highland, New Glasgow Scotch, Clementsport and Lunenburg rather German, and the Annapolis and Windsor valleys very English. He would know exactly where to find Acadians and men from Cape Cod, and would recognize them at a glance. He would expect to find Halifax city (pop. 40,832)[1] apparent Queen—with an Atlantic row of satellites amongst which Lunenburg (pop. 2,916), Bridgewater (pop. 1 816), Liverpool (pop. 1,937), Shelburne (pop. 1,445), Barrington (pop. 784), and Yarmouth (pop. 6,430) were conspicuous; a Fundy group, including Digby (pop. 1,150), Annapolis (pop. 1,019), Bridgetown (pop. 858), Middleton (pop. 969), Kentville (pop. 1,731), Wolfville (pop. 1,412), Windsor (pop. 2,849), Truro (pop. 5,993), Parrsboro (pop. 2,705), Amherst (pop. 4,964), and Spring-

Nova Scotia was fairly complete in 1830,

[1] Population 1901 census.

hill (pop. 5,178); and a Gulf group, including Pictou (pop. 3,235), Westville (pop. 3,471), Stellarton (pop. 2,335), New Glasgow (pop. 4,147), Trenton (pop. 1,003), and Antigonish (pop. 1,526). He would learn that the Gulf and Ocean towns other than Halifax were equal to one another, and that both together equalled three-fourths of Halifax, or a little more than the Bay towns.

The supremacy of Halifax over other towns is unchallenged, and it accounts for two-fifths of the town life but for only one-ninth of the whole life of Nova Scotia, for Nova Scotia is rural in its habits.

but for its coal and iron,

He might be puzzled by the groups of towns around Pictou, and at the strange name Springhill, but would easily guess the cause. Both are coal centres. The coal-mines near Pictou were first worked seriously in 1827, and had a railroad in 1839. The harbour is deeply indented by its three rivers; therefore the mines at Westville and Stellarton send their coal to sea either from Pictou or from the lofty coal pier at Pictou Landing, and the latter route is now preferred. As at Sydney Harbour two coal routes are creating two capitals of the coal towns, Pictou and New Glasgow, and as New Glasgow commands the preferred route, it is outstripping Pictou in the industrial race. In order to complete the parallel, the steel-works of the Nova Scotian Steel Company at Trenton, a mile or two below New Glasgow, are to New Glasgow, what the works of the Dominion Steel Company, a mile or two below Sydney, are to Sydney.

Springhill, Maccan, and Loggins are coal-mines south of Chignecto Bay, and all this coal-mining has only enriched districts which were already rich. So with the iron-mines of Londonderry, north of Cobequid Bay, and at Torbrook, on the Nictaux, and at Clementsport, on the south side of the Annapolis Valley.

its gold,

Gold is widely scattered near Sherbrook,† Stormont,* Sheet Harbour, Tangier, Musquodoboit, and Mahone Bay on the

Atlantic coast; at Montagu, Caribou, and Moose River near the Guysborough Road * ; at Oldham and Renfrew near the Truro road †; at Waverly and Uniacke near the Windsor road †; in the Brookfield district behind Liverpool and Bridgewater *; and in the neighbourhood of Yarmouth. The starred names are, the crossed names were, yielding rich returns—if returns can be called rich which barely yield £600,000 per annum from the whole of Nova Scotia. Gold has not opened up new districts, but only added a crown here or a crown there to districts which had already attained distinction. Gold is accountable for the small branch-line between New Germany and Caledonia; and may, along with Torbrook iron and the agricultural development of the La Hêve, have been partly accountable for that between Bridgewater and Middleton.

and its railways.

Except local branch-lines a few miles in length, and some ten miles of main line west of Mulgrave, every Nova Scotian railroad follows the chief main roads more or less. No line has been built between Halifax and Guysborough, and the lines to and through Windsor became less important than the lines to and through Truro owing to the political decay of Annapolis, the economic progress of the coal districts, and the completion of the through line to Quebec, which promoted Halifax from the position of Nova Scotian capital to that of winter-port of Canada. But for these additions, omissions, and changes, the old main roads which make the Atlantic Gulf and Bay towns of Nova Scotia one on Haliburton's map (1828), and the new railways, when they are shown upon a small scale, seem replicas. There has been a duplication of functions. Consequently Halifax, which is the one head, has grown out of all proportion; although Yarmouth, the junction, so to speak, for Boston, Truro, the junction for Quebec and Sydney, and minor ganglionic rail-and-road centres like Kentville and Bridgewater, have also benefited.

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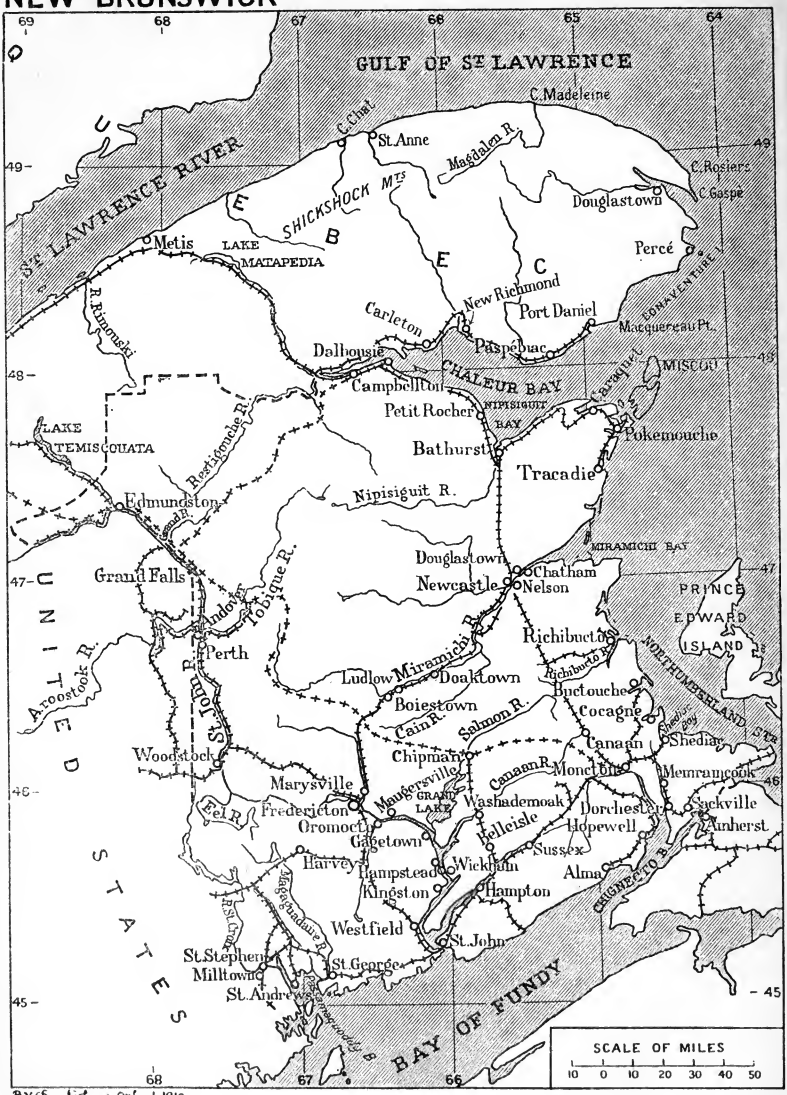
NEW BRUNSWICK



B.V. Barbisture, Oxford, 1910

CHAPTER III

LINKS BETWEEN FAR AND MIDDLE EAST
NEW BRUNSWICK AND ITS PEOPLE

New Brunswick has two through ways to Quebec.

LINES of communication of river, road, and railway double and doubly intensify one another in Nova Scotia, but triple and triply intensify one another in New Brunswick, which is only a little more than a double line of communication between the Atlantic or Nova Scotia and Quebec; and the influence of Quebec being nearer is increased in proportion to its nearness. Even those parts of New Brunswick which adjoin the isthmus of Chignecto, and are geographically a part of Nova Scotia, became more famous as resting and starting places for the north than as places to live and die in.

Its south-east corner is an extension of Nova Scotia.

Sackville (pop. 1,444[1]), Dorchester (pop. 1,246[1]), Memramcook[1], Hillsborough (pop. 650[1]), Hopewell (pop. 707[1]), and Moncton (pop. 9,026[1]) represent geological and historical extensions of Chignecto Isthmus and its rivers into New Brunswick, and had a similar origin. The Methodist College at Sackville accentuates the presence of Yorkshiremen; and the Roman Catholic College at Memramcook is the educational Mecca of the Acadians.

Its east and north-east coasts were occupied by Acadian refugees.

Many Acadians swarmed or hid during the troubled Fifties, between Moncton and the Bay of Fundy, and then fled further north. Long ago there had been Quebec missions at Nipisiguit (1620) and Miscou (1634); and when Denys's dominion crumbled into dust Recollets missionaries remained at Restigouche and Miramichi, and two *coureurs des bois* acquired seignories and flitted to and fro between Nipisiguit, Pokemouche, and Richibucto. After the first fall of Louisbourg a fort was built at Shediac (1749): and after the fall of Beau-

[1] Population 1901.

séjour 3,500 men[1] were concentrated by 'Mr. Bobare from Quebec'[2] at Beaubairs's Island, where the two arms of the Miramichi meet (1756). In order to take shelter with the priests and soldiers of their race the Acadians fled from Nova Scotia to Shediac, Cocagne, Buctouche, Richibucto, Miramichi, Pokemouche, Miscou, and other ports on the Gulf coast; and to Miscou, Caraquet, Nipisiguit, and Restigouche on Bay Châleurs, lining the sea-route to Quebec Province, and spreading along all the eastern and part of the northern border of New Brunswick. On the eastern border they received grants at all these ports between 1767 and 1798: on the northern border they and some French sailors, who fought at Restigouche (1760), and some Jerseymen, who settled in Miscou, received similar grants from 1784 onwards. Denys's colonists had probably died out: if so, Acadians from Nova Scotia were the first fruitful seed sown along the eastern and northern shores of New Brunswick, and they are still there. They dotted two sides of New Brunswick with a succession of connected settlements for the first time in history. But they founded villages not towns, and the work of peopling these two sides was done a second time by men, of a different race and of a later generation, who founded towns. Thus Campbellton (pop. 2,652[3,4]), Dalhousie (pop. 862[4]), Bathurst[5] (pop. 2,500[4]), and Caraquet (pop. 773[4]) on Bay Châleurs; Newcastle (pop. 2,507[4]), Douglastown (pop. 481[4]), Nelson (pop. 377[4]), and Chatham (pop. 4,868[4]) on either side of the estuary of the Miramichi; and the towns of Richibucto (pop. 760[4]) and Shediac (pop. 1,075[4]) are the fruits of Scotch seed which was sown twenty or thirty years later, and of which more anon. Of these towns Shediac is the Gulf by-port of Moncton (pop. 9,026[4]), which is on the bend of the Petitcodiac;

[1] B. Murdoch, *History*, ii. 312.
[2] Boishebert; *sic* Dr. Witherspoon, *Journal* of 1757, *Nova Scotia Hist. Soc.*, 1881, vol. ii, p. 31.
[3] = Restigouche. [4] Population in 1901. [5] = Nipisiguit.

therefore it may be said that the only Gulf towns are the ports or port towns of the Miramichi, Richibucto, and Petitcodiac, which are the only rivers affording easy access from the Gulf to the St. John. Similarly Bay Châleurs and the Restigouche also point to the St. John. The Acadian villages and Scotch towns are termini of crossways leading to one great river. Of all these crossways the two valleys, which seem like one valley formed by the Upper Petitcodiac and Kennebecasis, constitute the easiest and straightest way, and were first furnished by British colonists with a main road past Petitcodiac, Sussex (pop. 1,398[1]) and Hampton (pop. 650[1]) to St. John (pop. 40,711[1]).

St. John, the chief town, is on the St. John,

St. John owes its position as the commercial capital of New Brunswick to its fine harbour and situation at the mouth of the St. John. The harbour does not freeze in winter, and the city proper is on two rocks on the left bank of the river-mouth below the falls, but its suburbs extend above the falls and to the right bank, at West End.[2] The river itself is one of the great river-routes into the interior of North America.

whose towns,

For the first fifty miles of its upward course, the river St. John zigzags by Westfield, at the mouth of the Nerepis (west), Kingston, at the mouth of the Belleisle (east), and Hampstead (west), and Wickham (east), at the mouth of the Washademoak (east), to Gagetown (pop. 925[1]) (west), which is the most important town between St. John and Fredericton, and from which the Salmon River produces an easy waterway to a low watershed, and so to the Richibucto, and a less easy waterway to Cain's River and the Miramichi.

e.g. *Gagetown,*

After Gagetown the river bends westward through flooded flats and more continuous settlements, past the *vis-à-vis* towns of Maugerville (north) and Oromocto (south), at the mouth of the Oromocto (south), to the low-lying, leafy city of Fredericton (pop. 7,117[1]) (south), which is the political capital and University city of New Brunswick, and presents a striking

Fredericton,

[1] Population, 1901. [2] Formerly Carleton.

contrast to its supplementary lumber-towns of Marysville (pop. 1,892 [1]) and Gibson (pop. 764 [1]), on the opposite or north bank. Though eighty-four miles from the sea, the river is still tidal, half a mile wide, and thatched with lumber rafts, like Groby's Pool with pancakes. It is here that the Nashwaak penetrates towards the sources of the Miramichi, and presents a waterway to the Gulf, only inferior in importance to the waterway from St. John to Moncton. So far the importance of three great towns on the St. John is partly due to their position at the head of the three best waterways to the Gulf. Sixty-four miles further on is the lumber-town of Woodstock (pop. 2,984), below which the Eel River joins the St. John from the south, and other rivers join it from Maine (United States). The river now runs north and south for 112 miles past Perth (east) and Andover (west), which are twin towns near the mouths of the Tobique (east) and the Aroostook (west), past Grand Falls (pop. 644), where there is a miniature Niagara, 124 feet high, and past Grand River, where the Grand River flows in from the east, to Edmundston (pop. 444), where the river, which is now flowing west and east, is joined from the north by the Madawaska, a river one-third its size and depth, and leading to Temiscouata Lake and Portage on the Appalachian Range, and so to Rivière du Loup, 81 miles away, on the St. Lawrence. The St. John, Madawaska, and Rivière du Loup are the natural highway through the 341 miles of impenetrable forest which separate the Bay of Fundy from the St. Lawrence River. Along this highway there are trifling interruptions formed by falls, rapids, and one low watershed, and towns have been built as trysting-places wherever and only where two or more similar highways meet; for instance, at St. John, Gagetown, Fredericton, Woodstock, and Edmundston. Even Westfield and Oromocto are at the ends of a pair of waterways which cut off a sharp corner of the St. John; and Petitcodiac and

Grand Falls,

Edmundston,

[1] Population, 1901.

Sussex are and have been starting-places for short cuts to the Belleisle, Washademoak, and Salmon River crossways. But this rule has two exceptions. Grand Falls has its town, and, although it is a compulsory resting-place on the old main river-route, it is not the starting-point of a new crossway; and although the Grand River furnishes the only practicable crossway from the St. John to the Restigouche and Bay Châleurs it has no town, unless Edmundston, twenty miles away, serves that purpose. These exceptions, or possible exceptions, occur where boundary disputes retarded natural development.

are also connected with Passamaquoddy Bay,

Hardly less important than the side-passages, so to speak, from the great river to the eastern gulf are its two back-stair passages to Passamaquoddy Bay, one from Woodstock up the Eel River and down the St. Croix[1], and the other up the Oromocto and down the Magaguadavic: the first leading to Milltown (pop. 2,044[2]), St. Stephen (pop. 2,840[2]), and St. Andrews (pop. 1,066[2]), and the second leading to St. George (pop. 2,892[2]), all of which are on Passamaquoddy Bay. The towns on the west side of the St. Croix are rather larger than those on the east, but belong to the United States: for by the sport of Fate the frontier between British America and the United States is the St. Croix,[1] and Fate as usual has been capricious in its choice.

and adjoin the western frontier.

England claimed as heir to France: and France only claimed because it planted the first Acadian colony at St. Croix Island (1604–5).[3] But for this plantation no one would have heard of the St. Croix River; yet St. Croix Island belongs to the United States. Secondly, England claimed as the heir of Sir William Alexander, to whom James I. granted a colony (1621) bounded by the St. Croix River to its source, including 'its furthest source from the west', and thence by a line due north to the nearest river, emptying itself into the St. Lawrence. The treaty of 1783

[1] Chiputneticook branch. [2] Population, 1901.
[3] Douchet Isle.

substituted the watershed between the Atlantic and the St. Lawrence River, for the river emptying itself into the St. Lawrence, but otherwise followed the grant with a deference rarely paid either to its author or its recipient. Yet the present boundary excludes western affluents of the St. Croix; and the due north line, after shadowing the St. John River from below Woodstock to Grand Falls, hits the St. John River above Grand Falls: after which the river and a western affluent named the St. Francis become the boundary as far as a lake[1] near the source of the St. Francis, whence a straight line is drawn south by west to lat. 46° 25′, where another tributary of the St. John becomes the boundary as far as the watershed between the St. Lawrence on one side and the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic on the other side. The arguments and compromises by means of which this singular boundary was evolved are described in the preceding volume of this series. Its effects were to assimilate and identify the fortunes of Passamaquoddy Bay with those of the St. John River, to throw back the proposed inter-colonial road and railway from the St. John and St. Croix to the Gulf shores, and to compel New Brunswick to associate with Canada by way of Quebec instead of Montreal, and with Quebec by northern routes instead of north-western routes. The north-western routes would probably have been one: the northern routes are two, not by choice but by geographical necessity.

Hence New Brunswick has an eastern and western line of life.

The consequence of these artificial arrangements are that New Brunswick is divided longitudinally into a Gulf-Coast-strip held together by a State road and rail: and a St. John River-strip held together by river, and at a later date by private roads and railways: the first strip being extended to include Bay Châleurs and Moncton, and the second strip being extended to include Passamaquoddy Bay. Dusty parchments drawn by London scriveners at the behest of

[1] Lake Pohenagamook.

a crowned pedant and unique historical complications produced this arbitrary dichotomy. But was it arbitrary?

The same result occurred in Indian,

Long before history began, Indians adopted these very same divisions: and the St. John River, including Passamaquoddy Bay, was the domain of the Maliceet, while the Gulf coast, including Bay Châleurs and the Petitcodiac, was the domain of the Micmac. To them New Brunswick was not one but two: and the ways between the two were the same as those which have been described between St. John and Moncton, between Gagetown and Richibucto, between Fredericton and Miramichi, and between Grand River and the Restigouche to-day; even the back entrance to the St. John from Passamaquoddy Bay and the short cuts were the same. The very trysting and council places of the Indians at St. John, Fredericton, St. Andrews and Woodstock—not to mention lesser or later posts at St. George, Westfield, Oromocto and Edmundston, were at the same corners in Indian times as the principal places were under the French and English régimes.

and in French times.

The French régime was the Indian régime with a European veneer. In 1620 a Recollet missionary of Nipisiguit descended the St. John; and *coureurs des bois* from Quebec followed him; but in political geography these men were mere pupils of those whom they went to teach. Only one effort was made to improve upon the lesson learned from the Indians. In 1683 De Meule proposed to plant French Canadian 'Habitans' along the St. John every four leagues, so that a road 'might make itself naturally' from Quebec to Acadia.[1] But in French Canada Habitans presupposed Seigneurs; so the Government created Seigneurs between Woodstock and St. John in order that the Seigneurs might create the Habitans, and the Habitans might create the road or the road might create itself: and Seigneurs resided for a few years at Woodstock, Nashwaak opposite Fredericton,

[1] *Coll. de Manuscrits*, ed. Blanchet, Quebec, 1883–5, vol. i, p. 301.

Jemseg (opposite Gagetown), St. John, Hampton, St. Andrews, and St. George; but those on the coast were mostly Acadians who resided elsewhere, while those inland being wild men of the woods, and wont to travel like Indians and with Indians, resided everywhere or nowhere, and were the last people in the world who would be likely to introduce Habitans.[1] In 1690 Villebon removed his capital from Annapolis to Jemseg, Nashwaak, and St. John successively, but only for a few years. In 1696 and 1704 Colonel Church and others laid these settlements waste, and in 1733 there were only one hundred and eleven settlers on the St. John, mostly Acadian. In 1746 the first order was given to cut a path three feet wide from Lake Temiscouata to the Rivière du Loup and was not obeyed. So far the French plan proved a mere plan on paper.

Acadian refugees on the St. John and Gulf differed.

Then voluntary and involuntary flight led bands of Acadians across the Bay of Fundy to St. John. Thence they fled further and founded 'French villages' on 'French ridges' by 'French lakes', (1) near Hampton east of St. John, (2) on the Oromocto, (3) at Little River, near Grand Lake, and near (4) Kingston, (5) Gagetown,[2] and (6) Fredericton on the St. John: of which villages two above Fredericton survive, but the rest of the villagers have been dispersed and gathered together again at Edmundston, or in its neighbourhood where they act as Wardens of the March. These Acadians entered New Brunswick by a different route from those who spread along the coast at the same time, so that New Brunswick to all intents and purposes was still two provinces.

New Englanders settled in the south-east corner and on the

As in Nova Scotia so in New Brunswick, while the Acadians fled afield for safety, the New Englanders rushed in to farm and trade, but at three places only: (1) in the salt-marshes between Moncton and Sackville, (2) at St. John on

[1] E. g., the four brothers Damours at Hampton, Jemseg, Fréneuse (Maugerville) and Meductic (Woodstock), and Vilieu at Shepody, &c.
[2] Grimross.

both banks (1762), and (3) on the flooded banks of the St. John at Maugerville (1763). All were of British descent except a very few of the settlers near Moncton, who were Germans from Pennsylvania. The settlers at Maugerville were the first New Englanders to arrive, and they came by the Magaguadavic and Oromocto, thus emphasizing from the very first the unity of the St. John district with that of Passamaquoddy Bay. A few Englishmen came from England under Lieutenant William Owen to Campobello Island in Passamaquoddy Bay; and a few scattered British Americans settled on the adjacent mainland, and also on the St. John at Kingston, and east of Maugerville and at Fredericton. No one settled on the Gulf. There was as yet no unity in New Brunswick. *western line.*

This British-American invasion was a mere fragmentary forecast of the invasion twenty years later by the Loyalists. In New Brunswick the Loyalists included twelve regiments of disbanded Provincial soldiers[1], two Highland regiments, and four neighbourhood guilds or associations of Loyalists, besides officials and the like. The soldiers were introduced, located, and rationed for a time by the British military authorities, and similar first aid was accorded to the other wounded spirits. They came with their wives and children. These were the men and women to whom, and to whom alone, the creation of St. John, Gagetown, Fredericton, and Woodstock, and of continuous settlements between them, of St. Stephen, St. Andrews, and St. George, on Passamaquoddy Bay, and of Hampton and Sussex, on the critical base line between St. John and Moncton, was due. The Loyalists, who made Nova Scotia come of age, made New Brunswick exist. Their harbingers, the New Englanders, barely made it a prophecy of a province by twenty years of effort; while they made it a perfected province in a moment, in the twink- *The Loyalists filled in the lines where the New Englanders settled,*

[1] Eighteen others are mentioned in Brymner, *Report on Archives*, 1883, p. 11.

ling of an eye. There were now capital and other towns at the very coigns of vantage chosen by Frenchmen a century ago, and by Indians many centuries ago; and there were also settlements (followed by a road) along one hundred and twenty-eight miles of the River St. John and between St. John and the Gulf (near Moncton); and there was a road (followed by settlements) between Fredericton and St. Andrews. As in Nova Scotia, roads became symbols and instruments by which a unity hitherto unattainable was attained. Passamaquoddy Bay became like an alternative mouth of the St. John, and the St. John was tied to the Gulf by the thin thread that passed through Sussex and Moncton. No Loyalists went direct to the Gulf or far from the sea except on the St. John and at Sussex, but hardly had they arrived when re-emigration and extension began.

and Loyalist re-emigrants met Highland immigrants on the Gulf.

Some re-emigrated by the new road to Moncton and its neighbourhood, and so to the Gulf; others used it as a base for extending northwards to the valleys of the Washademoak at New Canaan, and of the Salmon River at Chipman, New Canaan (1792) and Chipman (c. 1800) having been reached already by extension from the St. John. At Fredericton a Highland capitalist named Davison induced fifty Loyalist families to pass over the watershed to the mouth of the Miramichi and elsewhere (1784–5); and other Highland Loyalists followed from Fredericton and founded Ludlow, midway between Fredericton and Newcastle (1814), while a counter-current of Ayrshire and Highland colonists from Newcastle founded Doaktown (1790), almost midway between Newcastle and Fredericton. The Ayrshire and Highland colonists, who were borne along on the counter-current, formed part of those who came to and overflowed Cape Breton Island, Pictou, and Prince Edward Island; they not only reached the Gulf Coast of New Brunswick, but even reached Campbellton [1]

[1] Athol Point.

on Bay Châleurs, and the shores of Passamaquoddy Bay (1804),[1] but did not reach the St. John.

English and Irish immigrants came, 1816–50.

Hitherto no Irishmen from Ireland, and hardly any Englishmen from England,[2] officers excepted, had arrived as colonists. Then after Waterloo a period of systematic emigration began and continued until the Fifties. Every part of the United Kingdom, especially Ireland, contributed. There were hardly any foreigners; and the only foreigners were from the United States. In 1851 one-fifth of the population were returned as immigrants; and of the immigrants 71 per cent. were Irish, 12 per cent. Scotch, 10 per cent. English, 4 per cent. 'other British', and 3 per cent. foreign, meaning American. The movement towards New Brunswick was intensely national.

New roads were built,

The new era ushered in new roads on which the newcomers settled. There were new provincial roads from Fredericton (1) to St. John by the short cut between Westfield and Oromocto (1826), (2) to Chatham (1833–4), (3) to St. Andrews (1826–7), and (4) to Chipman (c. 1835), and so to Richibucto (c. 1855), not to speak of minor cross-roads from Moncton to Canaan, from St. John to Shepody, and so on. The capital was being used as a road centre, and two more bonds were added between the River St. John and the Gulf by the second and fourth roads.

along which immigrants settled,

On the first road Irishmen peopled Blissville. The second road was the work of the Nova Scotia Land Company, which introduced Skye crofters to Old Stanley Road (1837) to associate with the Irishmen of Tay and the Welshmen of Cardigan hard by; Anglo-Scotch borderlanders settled at Harvey, Wooler, and Tweedside (1837), on the third road; and on the last road which was built in order to promote settle-

[1] G. Patterson, *Life of James MacGregor*, pp. 351–2. Probably ex-soldiers, ibid., p. 347.

[2] Yorkshiremen in Sackville, &c., Lieutenant Owen at Campobello, and W. Hannington at Shediac.

ment there were Irishmen at Londonderry (c. 1825), Nova Scotians from Cornwallis at Alma (c. 1815), and Scotchmen at Roxburgh (c. 1848).

These settlements were the products of social effort, but were backed by sturdy individualists like Thomas Boies, who founded a one-man town called Boiestown, near Ludlow (c. 1822), and Alexander Gibson, 'the lumber king,' who bought land from the Land Company and gave his name to Gibson, and by many others whose names are forgotten.

e.g. the two inter-colonial roads to Quebec,

During this period two great intercolonial roads were completed to Quebec, one from Fredericton and Woodstock and the other from Moncton. These roads overshadowed every other road, and the second which continued to Halifax overshadowed the first. The first was indirectly due to war, and the second was directly due to apprehensions of war.

by the St. John route,

Before 1783 there was wilderness, and nothing but wilderness, between Woodstock and the St. Lawrence. In 1783 Sir Frederick Haldimand began to build, between Rivière du Loup and Lake Temiscouata, a road which in 1833 was from six to nine feet wide, with old tree-stumps on its dry patches, and rotting timber strewn corduroy-fashion on its wet patches. In 1791 Sir Guy Carleton established small military posts at Presqu' Ile and Grand Falls between the Loyalist settlements at Woodstock and the Acadian settlements at Edmundston. During the war with the United States (1812–14) Sir John Harvey, Sir George Prévost, the 8th and the 104th Regiments, marched from Woodstock to Rivière du Loup or vice versa. Governors and regiments went before and pioneer-settlers followed after. Between 1817 and 1819 six disbanded regiments were settled by the War Office at Wicklow, Kent, Perth, and Andover, between Woodstock and Grand Falls,[1] and a seventh between Grand Falls and Lake Temiscouata,[2] and the self-made road of which De Meule dreamed began

[1] The 8th, 90th, 98th, 104th, and the New Brunswick Fencibles and West Indian Rangers. [2] The 49th.

to materialize. During the rebellion (1837–9) four regiments used this 'celebrated new route by the Portage of Temiscouata, by the possession of which the Americans seek to control the navigation of' the St. Lawrence. Indeed its danger was as obvious as its value when these words were written (1842), and the writer added that in case of war with the United States 'the Kempt road which is to open a communication between New Brunswick and Quebec' was the first necessity of life to Canada in winter, when ice on the river and gulf of St. Lawrence cuts off Quebec from Europe, unless there is a safe way by land from Quebec to some ice-free Atlantic port.[1]

and by the coast,

The Kempt or Gulf road from Moncton to Newcastle, Bathurst, Lake Matapedia, and Métis on the St. Lawrence River doubled the sea-route to Quebec, and rarely followed either river or any other natural course. It was artificial, and was built chiefly as a military precaution, but partly also in order to induce settlement; and the chief settlers along this line were Irishmen and Scotchmen, among whom lessees of the Island of Arran—who, on the expiry of their leases, went to Campbellton, Dalhousie (1829), and the Bay Châleurs —were conspicuous. Philanthropists sometimes disguised as evicting landlords found recruits for the road by the Gulf, as the War Office did for the road by the river.

both of which diminished the importance of capital towns.

The whole history of this period was a history of roads; and the political effect of the two most important roads was to people, enrich, and unify the province by diminishing the importance of its capital. The great gulf road did not pass Fredericton or St. John; and the great river road had two branches from Woodstock, one to St. Andrews, which did not pass Fredericton, and the other to St. John, on which Fredericton resembled a beautiful wayside inn.

Railways began when immigra-

After the Fifties immigration almost ceased; roads played little part, and men forgot the great part which the Colonial

[1] Sir R. Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in* 1841, 1842, vol. ii, pp. 127, 146.

tion almost ceased, and doubled the roads.

and War Office played in stocking the land with Loyalists and veterans. It was a period of railroads, which shadowed the two intercolonial roads, and the main provincial roads from Moncton to St. John and from Fredericton to Chatham or Newcastle. The great intercolonial railroad, being political, shadowed the Kempt road, which is far from the frontier; and the railroads near the St. John were left to private enterprise. The Gulf settlements and St. John River settlements, so to speak, were united with themselves and the St. Lawrence by two vertical steel jambs, the left jamb dividing into two below Woodstock, and by two steel crossbars with each other. Fredericton sank to the material level of Moncton; and the extreme points at Halifax, St. John, and Passamaquoddy Bay were strengthened at the expense of intermediate towns. Of these towns Halifax, being the terminus of the intercolonial Railway, profited more than St. John, which is, however, the terminus of a branch-line from Moncton, and of a concatenation of small private lines down the St. John valley. Perhaps the completion of the National Transcontinental Railway, which is meant to go across country from Grand Falls by Chipman to Moncton, with branches to Fredericton and St. John, will readjust the scales; but its principal effect will be to open up new districts to settlement. At present the country away from the main railways and roads is very lonely. There has been extension by old settlers up Eel River, Tobique River, and the like, and by old and new settlers elsewhere, but always, more or less, in the neighbourhood of the new railway lines. Thus the line between Woodstock and Edmundston and its neighbourhood has absorbed Irish navvies, dispatched by Earl Wicklow from his Wicklow estates (1848), Shetland navvies (at Lerwick), Baptists conducted by Rev. Charles Knowles from Yarmouth (Nova Scotia) to Knowlesville (1860), Presbyterians conducted by Rev. G. Glass from Aberdeen to Glassville (1865?), and Skedaddlers or Americans, who left

the United States in order to avoid fighting and settled on Skedaddler Ridge near Knowlesville (1864). But matters like these belong to parochial rather than to national history, and the face of the country and character of the population have hardly changed since the Fifties, when it attained some sort of finality.

The population is mainly British,

The population has increased 50 per cent. during the last fifty years and was 331,120 in 1901, of which one-third was 'English' (including British American), one-fourth Irish, one-fourth Acadian, one-seventh Scotch, and the minute residue comprised 1,368 negroes (who settled at Otnabog (1812) and Willow Grove (1817), and 1,309 native Indians (for whom twenty-five reserves have been set apart at the mouths of the Tobique, Richibucto, and elsewhere).

Geographically, if unimportant details are omitted, the Indian, French, and British civilizations, and the rivers, coast-lines, roads, and railways, resemble one another on the map. But the resemblance would be misleading, because it ignores the human element.

and united.

New Brunswick is still an oblong exhibiting a differen. type of civilization on its two longer sides—Military and Loyalist on the west, Scotch and Acadian on the East; but the nature, causes, and effects of its incurable dualism are not now what they were in old time. Thus the two types still meet along well-worn routes by river, road, and rail; but these cross-routes, which once were mere points of casual contact, are now means by which the two civilizations are indissolubly welded together.

New Brunswick is the province of two roads to the north.

The reader may be weary of seeing rivers and coasts referred to as lines of development, and lines of development described by architectural and mechanical metaphors such as passages, props, bands, bonds, and the like; but these metaphors recur irresistibly to those who realize that if there is one essential truth which has persisted through the ages, it is that New Brunswick is the province with two corridors to

Quebec Province, two bands and bonds between the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic, two props or pillars upon which Quebec Province rests, and must rest during half the year, unless it is to depend upon the United States. It was so when New Brunswick was dual and divided; and the more self-contained and united New Brunswick has become, the more irrefutably has it shown that its mission in the history of the world is to connect Quebec Province with the far Eastern provinces and with Europe.

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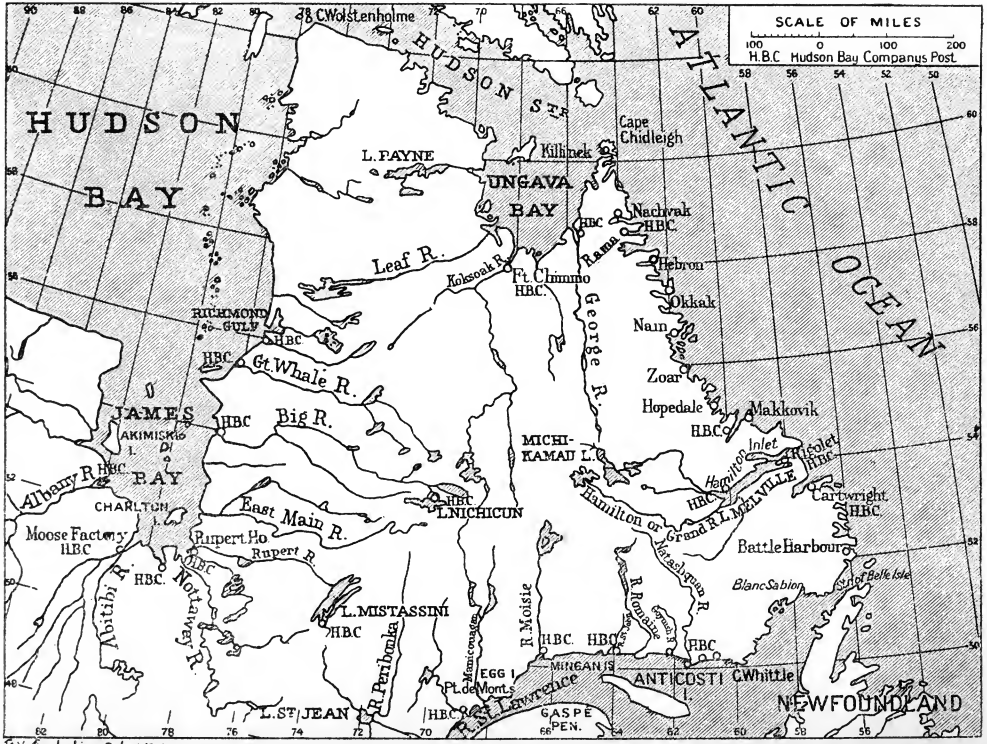
Professor Ganong has discussed and illustrated the peopling of New Brunswick with an industry and thoroughness which leave nothing to be added.

LABRADOR



T.J.V. Carlyshire, Oxford, 1910

CHAPTER IV

OTHER LINKS BETWEEN FAR AND MIDDLE EAST

Peninsulas and Islands of the Gulf

The north shore of Bay Châleurs.

The north side of Bay Châleurs, although situated in the province of Quebec, reflects the civilization of its south side. No one lives there except upon the coast, behind which the wooded tableland of Gaspé Peninsula (c. 1,500 feet), crowned by the Shickshock Mountains (c. 4,000 feet), bring the long line of the Appalachian range of Eastern America to a fitting end, and prohibit settlements inland.

The country consists of one county, which is to all intents and purposes nothing but a line of coast; and along the coast is a railway one hundred miles long, ending on the west in Restigouche and on the east in Port Daniel, a few miles beyond which is Point Macquereau at the mouth of the Bay. The easternmost towns lie almost continuously along the shore, in this order: Port Daniel (pop. 2,509),[1] Hopetown (pop. 2,411),[1] Paspébiac (pop. 1,759),[1] and New Carlisle (pop. 1,027).[1] New Carlisle was founded in 1784 by Loyalist Englishmen from New York State and a few disbanded soldiers,[2] is still two-thirds English, and is the county town; Port Daniel and Hopetown are two-thirds French in origin, and Paspébiac is six-sevenths French in origin and is the head-quarters of the Jersey fish-merchants, who began their mission of industry and reconciliation here upon the green-sward below the purple mountains and above the low red rocks on the shore in 1767. These rocks are red sand-

[1] Population, 1901.

[2] *The House of Assembly of Lower Canada, Rep. VI on Crown Lands*, 1821–5, p. 120.

stone, which, as they decay, colour and enrich the soil some fifty miles westward as far as New Richmond (pop. 2,318),[1] New Richmond being the second town of the county and half Scotch. West of New Richmond, Carleton (pop. 1,061)[1] is wholly, Nouvelle Bay three-fourths, and Matapedia five-sixths French in origin; but elsewhere the British, chiefly the Scotch element, prevails, except in the historic settlement of Micmac Indians (pop. 422)[1] at Cross Point opposite Campbellton. The French mission to these Indians is nearly three centuries old; but the Church preceded the state, and there were no white settlers here, until Acadian refugees and some thousand sailors, who on their defeat by Commodore Byron (1758) fled to the woods, formed the stock from which the present French-speaking inhabitants of the Bay are derived.

The eastern shore of Gaspé Peninsula.

East of Point Macquereau the Peninsula of Gaspé trends northward, and a new county begins, but the country is the same, and we still breathe the same historical atmosphere. There are the same forbidding hills, forests, and mountains behind the coast, and the same red rocks, and almost the same people upon the coast. Gaspé Bay is the most populous place upon the coast; it was here that Cartier set up a cross (1534), and fishermen from Quebec used to live here in the summer, so that General Wolfe raided it (1758) in order to deprive Quebec of its principal fish supply. But there was no permanent settlement here until the conquest. An Irishman, F. O'Hara (1765), was the first agricultural settler; and its first town was Douglastown (pop. 1098),[1] which was laid out for the Loyalists in 1784, and is now four-fifths Irish, while the other settlements in Gaspé Bay are three-fourths British. South of the Bay French influences are in the ascendant at the settlements[2]

[1] Population 1901.

[2] Mal Bay (pop. 1,993),[1] Bonaventure Island, Percé (pop. 1,868),[1] L'Ance au Beaufils (pop. 2,294).[1]

opposite Champlain's[1] Pierced Rock and elsewhere; and north of the Bay the atmosphere is French, but not decisively French until the corner is rounded and we reach Magdalen River, St. Anne, and Cape Chat. Here we are face to face with French Canada in its purest form. There is no Acadian tinge, and the British element is almost effaced; indeed, it is only one per cent. at Cape Chat. Perhaps the changed aspect is due to history, or perhaps to geography; for it was here that Riveron was Seigneur and tried, like Denys, to plant fishermen colonists in his Seignory (1689 et seq.); and it is here that we pass from gulf to river, which, according to Denys, began at Cape Rosiers, just north of the Bay of Gaspé, but according to modern geographers begins at Cape Chat. In any case Cape Chat and everything west of it is Quebec in spirit; while Cape Rosiers and everything south of it is a replica of the north shore, which is a replica of the south shore of Bay Châleurs. Indeed, the statistical resemblance of the north shore of Bay Châleurs and the coast from Point Macquereau to Cape Madeleine, two-thirds of the way between Cape Chat and Cape Rosiers, is uncanny; and the two districts are like twins.

	Population × 1000			*Percentage* 1901	
	1831	1851	1901	*French origin*	*British origin*
North shore of Bay Châleurs	5	10.8	24.5	69	28
Thence to Cape Madeleine	4	8.7	24.6	70	28

But distinctions of quality underlie these quantities. North of Point Macquereau the Frenchmen are less Acadian and more Canadian, and the British are less Scotch and more Irish: thus out of every ten British there are five Englishmen, four Irishmen, and one Scotchman here; and the proportion west

[1] *Voyages of Champlain*, ed. E. G. Bourne (1906), vol. ii, p. 212.

of Point Macquereau is four Englishmen and four Scotchmen to two Irishmen. The Loyalists who laid the foundation of all these settlements were mostly English, that is to say, English-American; next in time came Scotchmen who overflowed Bay Châleurs; and when at last Irishmen began to emigrate they had to go further afield to Percé and Gaspé. Hence both counties are to a large extent English, and the county which was nearest and grew quickest is as Scotch as its twin sister is Irish.

The Magdalen Islands.

Halfway between the Pierced Rock and Newfoundland (c. 120 miles), and equidistant from Cape Breton Island and Prince Edward Island (c. 60 miles), or from the Gut of Canso and Anticosti (c. 90 miles), are the Magdalen Islands, with ninety square miles of sandspits, on which the inhabitants dry cod; of sandstone rocks, on which sea-birds breed as they did in Cartier's day[1]; of sandstone hills five hundred and fifty feet high, and of red soil as in Prince Edward Island. The principal island is composite, consisting of several islets known as Amherst, Grindstone, Wolf, Grosse, Coffin, and Alright. Wolf Islet has been compared to a 'sesamoid bone in the middle of a muscle of sand nearly twenty-four miles long',[2] and the others are either joined by low sand-bars or disjoined by shallow salt-lagoons. On the south-east, Entry Island, and on the north-east Brion and Bird Islets are wholly detached from these semi-detached units. Like Anticosti, the islands lie in the mid-stream and are strewn with wrecks. Here walrus were hunted by Basques in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; then by Normans and Basques under Denys's Norman rival (1663 et seq.)[3]; then by sailors in the employ of French companies; and at last four families arrived from Prince

[1] Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, vol. viii, p. 192.
[2] George Patterson, in *Nova Scotia Institute of Natural Science*, vol. viii, pp. 35–51.
[3] Doublet.

Edward Island (1757) and several from the Gut of Canso[1] (1765). They were the first settlers and were Acadian. A New Englander named Gridley reorganized the walrus-hunting with the residents as helpers, but returned to the United States during the war (1776–83); after which other New Englanders took on the task, and the new system met with so much success that the walruses were practically extinct in 1795.[2] Then (1798), to crown their sorrow, a landlord was put over the residents; his name, Sir Isaac Coffin, was not cheerful, and the squatting problem, which has always been a difficulty, where Acadians are concerned, became acute. Nevertheless, the population rose from thirteen (1791) to 80 or 100 (1798), 133 (1821), and 153 or 195 (1831) families[2]; swollen as it was by French Royalists, expelled from St. Pierre during the French Revolution, and by wrecked Englishmen, and by a prolific Nova-Scotian lady named Mrs. Dixon (1822), who in sixty years peopled nine out of the ten villages of Entry Island with her issue. Fishing and sealing are the principal pursuits of the inhabitants, who now number 6,000,[3] live mostly on the compound island or islet-group, and of whom five-sixths are Acadian or French, and the rest British in origin. The type of civilization is essentially characteristic of the south side of the Gulf.

Anticosti Island.

Anticosti Island, the other obstruction in the fair way of ships sailing from Europe to Quebec, belongs geologically and historically, in body and soul, to the north shore of the Gulf, which is the south shore of Labrador. It is seven hundred feet high in parts, almost harbourless, and 2,600 square miles in size, or a little larger than Prince Edward Island, and nearly as large as Cape Breton Island. Its rocks are Lower Silurian limestone or sandstone, like those of Mingan

[1] Richard Brown, *History of Cape Breton Island*, pp. 356, 408; comp. *Nova Scotia Archives* (1869), p. 349.

[2] *Lower Canada House of Assembly: Report I on Crown Lands*, 1821, pp. 50 et seq.

[3] Population, 1901.

Islands, off the mainland opposite, to which it once belonged physically and politically.

In 1661 François Bissot, son-in-law of Guillaume Couillard, who was son-in-law of Louis Hébert, became Seigneur of Egg Island, where Admiral Hovenden Walker was wrecked (1711), with trading and fishing rights thence to the River Goynish or thereabouts. He made his head-quarters Mingan, on the mainland, of which his successors were acknowledged as Seigneurs, while Bissot's son-in-law, Louis Jolliet, the discoverer of the Mississippi, settled in Mingan Isles and on Anticosti under a separate title and for the same purposes.[1] There William Phipps took Jolliet captive in 1690, but the captive returned and resumed his industry. Like Denys and Riveron, Jolliet was alive to the value of residence as a trading and industrial asset. Thus far Anticosti prospered. But a blight seems to overhang Labrador; and one hundred and eighty years later Anticosti was a howling wilderness haunted by wrecked sailors, who turned cannibals, by lighthouse keepers, who were there to save sailors from wreck, and by philanthropists or monomaniacs in charge of food stores to save wrecked sailors from cannibalism. Then an Anticosti Company was formed and introduced settlers (1871); and the island reached its zenith in 1881, when it had 676 inhabitants, of whom 160 were English Newfoundlanders and the rest Canadian French, all the inhabitants living either in the westernmost or in the easternmost corner of the island. Then began the decline and fall of what seemed to be an incipient province, the inhabitants dwindling to 253 (1891). Then the province was bought at a public auction by M. Menier, of Paris, with the proceeds of the sale of chocolate (1895); and he has built a pier 1,200 yards long at Ellis Bay in the west end, where there is the nearest approach to a harbour along the smooth undented coast-lines of this

[1] Jolliet's and Bissot's heirs claimed more, *post* p. 99.

inhospitable island. The east-enders have gone; the west-enders number about 500; and a few wild beasts have been introduced in order to enliven the unromantic swamps and forests of the interior.

The interior of Labrador.

Anticosti is an outlier of Labrador, and Labrador may mean one of three things. Geographers draw a line from the mouth of the Saguenay in the St. Lawrence River up the Saguenay to Lake St. Jean, and thence to the mouth of the Rupert in James Bay, and describe Labrador as the great lone land between this line, James Bay, Hudson Bay, Hudson Strait, the Atlantic, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Historians cut off all that part of geographical Labrador which abuts on the river St. Lawrence and Saguenay, and draw their line from Pointe des Monts, close by Egg Island, where the Gulf begins, to Rupert River; because they say that the civilization of a river invariably differs from that of a gulf. Historical Labrador is the Peninsula of bays, straits, seas, and gulfs which are exposed to the iciest currents on the earth's surface in those latitudes. Lawyers cut off a thin slice of Atlantic coast, beginning with Blanc Sablon in Belle Isle Strait and ending in Cape Chidleigh in Hudson Strait, because the thin slice belongs to Newfoundland by law, and the rest of geographical Labrador has been similarly assigned to Quebec Province. Taking Labrador in its least sense, its southern shore is what Bissot's and Jolliet's heirs and assigns claimed. In its largest sense it exceeds 420,000 square miles; yet its only inland residents are a handful of white men, who occupy one Hudson Bay Company trading post at Lake Nichicun and another at Lake Mistassini; and perhaps 2,000 Montagnais or Nascaupi Cree-Indians who are Algonquins. The huge husk is twice the size of Germany and all but empty within; and its exterior is hardly more populous.

The exterior of Labrador.

After the amalgamation of the North-West Company of Montreal with the Hudson Bay Company of London (1821) the latter invaded northern, southern, and eastern Labrador

from east, west, and north, by sea and by land. Dr. Mendry went overland from Richmond Gulf (Hudson Bay) to Ungava Bay (Hudson Strait) and founded Fort Chimmo (1827), whence John Maclean went overland to Hamilton Inlet on the Atlantic Ocean (1838), where a Hudson Bay Company post had recently been established by seafarers (1837). Various posts and forts on the north coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and up to and along the Saguenay had already been leased to the North-West Company and others, and were gradually absorbed by the Hudson Bay Company. Thus they ran a girdle round the Peninsula, which still holds, but with two differences: the Saguenay has long since been rescued from Labradorism, and handed over to civilization; and the trading posts are often doubled, so that a French-Canadian faces a London-Scottish post, not in rival war, as in the wild north-west before 1821, but in friendly competition. Indeed, Franco-British duels of this mild kind are in progress from end to end of the Mackenzie, all round James Bay, and at Hamilton Inlet, as well as on the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. But the fur trade requires only a few, still, strong men in a silent land. On the east coast of Labrador there are Moravian missionaries who preach to and trade for some 1,000 or 2,000 Eskimos at Makkovik, Hopedale, Nain, Okkak, Hebron, Rama, and Killinek; and south of these missions some 3,000 Newfoundland fishermen have settled. Resident fishermen, traders, and missionaries between the Saguenay and Blanc Sablon are now 8,000,[1] of whom 4,000 are on the river shore west of Egg Island, and are almost all French Canadians, and 4,000 are on the gulf shore, where French Canadians are to British as three to two, and most of the British are English Newfoundlanders living east of Cape Whittle. French Canadians on the north shore of the Gulf include Acadians from the south shore, and the Magdalens, who, between 1857 and 1861, squatted at

[1] 8,165; census 1901.

the mouth of the Natashquan, and in the neighbourhood of Cartier's Port Brest (Eskimo Point). Settlers have come from west, east, and south. The Gulf coast, which was never thoroughly French, is now parti-coloured. It is only when we enter the river that the French star shines alone, or almost alone, on its north as well as on its south bank.

Authorities.

There is a good map of Labrador in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. v. (1895), No. 6.

Add to authorities in the Notes:—

S. G. Benjamin, *Cruise in the Gulf of St. Lawrence*, 1885.

Jos. Bouchette's works mentioned at the end of Chapter VI.

Jos. Schmitt, *Monographie d'Anticosti*, 1904.

Henry Y. Hinde, *Labrador*, 1863.

Wilfred Grenfell, *Labrador*, 1910.

Sir William MacGregor, Governor of Newfoundland, *Reports of Official Visits to Labrador in* 1905 *and* 1908, published in Parliamentary Papers, 1909.

Law Reports, *Appeal Cases*, 1903, p. 104, Labrador Company *v.* Queen. This case exploded the idea, which Vondenvelden (1803), Bouchette (1832), and others held, that Bissot's seignory reached to Blanc Sablon or thereabouts. Only one or two seignories of small extent and comparatively recent origin existed on the north shore of the Gulf, and they were in the vicinity of Mingan. De Courtemanche, a grandson-in-law of Bissot, occupied Bradore Bay in the eighteenth century, but under a different title, which only conferred fishing and trading rights.

CHAPTER V

THE CORE OF CANADA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Archaean Canaaa includes Labrador

LABRADOR is vast and desolate because it is a part of Archaean Canada; and Archaean Canada, or the Canada where Archaean rocks are the only rocks, has been ever since the world began, before life began, and before the rest of America or any other continent rose from the deep. It is the core of the American continent and of Canada. It represents the prelude to the geological trilogy. It is the ground floor of the earth, on which upper stories have been built elsewhere, but on which nothing has been built here, for it is what and where and as it always has been, and its shape shows no trace of change. In Archaean countries distances in space count for as little as aeons in time, and the reader must now seat himself on the magic cloth of Jonathas and transport himself a few thousand miles to the north-west.

and is bounded on one side by the basins of the Mackenzie,

The mouth of the Mackenzie lies in a delta of débris betwixt Silurian limestones on the west and Archaean gneiss and granite on the east. A few hundred miles up-stream just off, but once doubtless part of, the river, is an inland sea called Great Bear Lake, with limestone on the west of it and granite or some other Archaean rock on the east of it, and its eastern is colder than its western shore.[1] Yet a few hundred miles further up-stream is a second inland sea called Great Slave Lake, through the middle of which, close by Stony Island, the division between Archaean and Silurian, between gneiss and limestone, and between colder and

[1] Comp. Sir John Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition*, vol. ii, p. 251. Sir George Back, *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition*, 1833-5, p. 563.

warmer, runs. The same invisible line now coincides for a while with the visible course of the Slave River, which is the Mackenzie under another name, and which leads up to a third inland sea called Lake Athabasca; after which the line of separation leaves the far north-west for the middle north-west or west of Canada at Methye Portage, where it enters the plains watered by the Churchill and Saskatchewan, coincides neither with valleys nor seas (for there are none), but passes by Lake Ile à la Crosse,—where Cree and Chipewyan Indians taught Lacrosse to Europeans,—and Beaver Lake, and at last reaches a fourth inland sea called Lake Winnipeg, in which the Red River and Saskatchewan unite, before they travel together to Hudson Bay under the *alias* of the Nelson. The rock-row, which is the southern rim of the Archaean region, now travels southward along the eastern border of Lake Winnipeg to the border of the United States, dips below the border, and reappears as the northern edge of Lakes Superior and Huron, which are the two inland seas in which the upper waters of the river St. Lawrence are gathered together. The whole Canadian tract between Lakes Winnipeg and Superior is Archaean. Lake Superior and its Archaean edge now point eastward; but Lake Huron wheels southward, and the St. Lawrence looks away from its eastern goal, towards which it only turns again when it expands into its third and fourth inland seas, Lakes Erie and Ontario. Meanwhile the mysterious line of rock which we have been following passes through Sault St. Marie (which is between Lakes Superior and Huron), through Grand Manitoulin Island, through Georgian Bay, which is an inner fold of Lake Huron, then just north of Lake Couchiching, which is an extension of Lake Simcoe, and then just north of Lakes Balsam and Sturgeon, and the dozen other lakes into which the Trent expands, and so straight to the Thousand Islands, which adorn the exit of Lake Ontario into what is now called the River St. Lawrence. Hitherto the feet of the prehistoric Archaean Continent have

of the Saskatchewan,

of the Red River,

and of the Upper St. Lawrence,

and by Georgian Bay, by the Trent Lakes, by the Lower St. Lawrence

at the Thousand Isles,

been washed by seven seas of fresh water—for Lake Erie is too far away to be reckoned—and when it enters the seventh sea, which is Lake Ontario, it reaches its southernmost Canadian limit and hesitates before committing itself to the north-easterly direction which it finally assumes. And here we too will pause for a moment.

(avoiding the peninsula of Ontario, Toronto, &c.)

The northernmost limits of the limestone area follow the southernmost limits of the Archaean area like shadows, exclude Algoma with its treasures and Muskoka with its pleasures, and include Lakes Simcoe and the Trent Lakes, the chief cities of Georgian Bay, and the cities of Peterborough and Kingston. At or near the southern limits of the limestone area, the limestone tips of the upper and lower lips of Georgian Bay appear; and limestone reappears in Bruce county (Ontario) as a ridge which runs southward, encircles Hamilton, and is known in its later stages as Burlington Heights, and Queenstown Heights, where the famous victories of 1812–14 were won. Then once more the ridge reverts into a single rock over which the River Niagara plunges, emptying Lake Erie into Lake Ontario, and forming the famous cataract whose praises Father Hennepin was the first to sound (1678). Therefore Toronto is in the very middle of the limestone belt. The peninsula behind the ridge and between Lakes Erie and Huron belongs to a later stage of evolution called Devonian.

by the Lower Ottawa (avoiding Ottawa)

But to return to our gneiss. A few miles east of the Thousand Isles and west of Brockville the Archaean border goes due north from the St. Lawrence to the Ottawa, which it reaches at Lake Chats, forty miles west of Ottawa city, and follows in its eastward course, so that Ottawa city, which is the capital of the Dominion, Smith's Falls and Merrickville on the Rideau, and Brockville on the St. Lawrence, only just belong to the later formation. At Grenville on the Ottawa, east of Ottawa city, the Archaean rim takes a short cut, as does the modern railway, behind Montreal towards Joliette,

and then wavers and wanders to and fro some ten miles or so from the left bank of the St. Lawrence, until Cap Tourmente is reached thirty miles below Quebec. Thus Montreal, and Cartier's 'Mount Royal' behind Montreal, and Quebec, and the Heights of Abraham behind it, are within the limestone area; but below Cap Tourmente Silurian limestone is hardly found except on the right bank, for instance, at Rivière du Loup, the left bank being thenceforth almost wholly dedicated to archaean gneiss and the like.

and by the Lower St. Lawrence (avoiding Montreal, &c.) and St. Lawrence Gulf.

Such is the outer margin of the Archaean region. Its inner margin is Hudson Bay, except where a flat Silurian or Devonian strip lines the shore between the Churchill and Rupert rivers. This excepted strip begins to overspread the gneiss for the last 60 miles of the Rupert and Nottaway, the last 150 miles of the Moose, and the last 250 miles of the Albany rivers[1]; and the principal posts of the Hudson Bay Company have dotted its hem for the last 240 years. Everything else,—if a few well-known outcrops of later date may be omitted—is Archaean; and the Archaean zone is like some rough horse-shoe, wide at its extremities but narrow at its arch, with its convex side turned toward the south, and its hollow side filled with a sea chilled and choked at its entrances with Arctic ice.

The north boundary is at or near Hudson Bay.

Broadly speaking, the whole Archaean area is stone, hill, and forest. The characteristic Archaean stone is hard, bossy gneiss; therefore the hills are low, rounded knolls, and the valleys high and three parts lake or river; and the soil is thin and sandy, so that the stones break through it like the ribbones of a starved horse. Archaean Canada is a land without glaciers (except one or two in Baffin Land), peaks, passes, ridges, downs, heaths, or plains. Even its forests disappear and turn into boggy or stony 'barrens' north of a line drawn from Churchill (Hudson Bay)[2] to the east of Great Slave

Some of the Archaean region consists of 'barrens';

[1] Dr. R. Bell, *Royal Geographical Society*, vol. x (1897), p. 8.
[2] c. 60° lat.

Lake, of Great Bear Lake, and of the mouth of the Mackenzie [1]; and from near Richmond Gulf (Hudson Bay) [2] to near Fort Chimmo (Hudson Strait) [3] and Okkak [3] on the Atlantic. Labrador too has bald patches elsewhere, especially on its wind-swept, ice-swept Atlantic coast. Similar 'barrens' were noted long ago in Lapland and Siberia by Giles Fletcher (1588) and others, who called them 'Tundras',[4] which was then the Russian and is now the European word for barrens.

and some have mineral rocks and clay belts,

In the Archaean area barrens are a change for the worse, but there are changes for the better. The rocks are not all gneiss and granite, but mineral rocks, and rich clay belts have been discovered. What are called Huronian rocks [5] are also Archaean in age, but contain dolerite or diabase, and the copper and unique nickel of Sudbury (Ontario), the silver and unique cobalt of Cobalt (Ontario), the silver ot Thunder Bay (Lake Superior), the copper of Michipicoten (Lake Superior) and of Wabigoon and Manitou (between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg), and probably all minerals east of the Rockies are found in Huronian strata. Nor is the soil always thin, deep deposits of clay being found on the shores of lakes and over long stretches between lake and lake; and the history of Lake St. Jean, which is an expansion of the Saguenay one hundred miles from its mouth in the very heart of the Archaean country, may be taken as a parable and a precedent.

e.g. at Lake St. Jean,

Every early explorer wished to go west, and the Saguenay—which is one to three miles wide, and lies west and east, while the St. Lawrence lies south-west and north-east—tempted Cartier (1535), Roberval, Chauvin, and Champlain (1603), Chauvin building a stone house at Tadoussac by the mouth of the Saguenay at least eight years before the first log shanty was built at Quebec. Yet Tadoussac (pop. 511 [6]) only

[1] c. 69° lat. [2] c. 57° lat. [3] c. 58° lat.
[4] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, vol. iii, p. 403, ed. 1903.
[5] Including Animikie. [6] Population, 1901.

became a summer fishing-station and fur-market, to which the Montagnais Cree-Indians of Labrador brought fur, and which the Recollets and Jesuits used as a base whence they pushed on to Chicoutimi, seventy miles up stream, and to Lake St. Jean (1647); and it was from Lake St. Jean that Father Albanel pushed on by Lake Mistassini and Rupert River to James Bay (1672). Geology supplied the reason. Tadoussac has much gneiss and little grass, and the Saguenay for seventy miles is a cleft filled with deep water between gneiss and granite walls. Tadoussac and the Saguenay were epitomes of Labrador; therefore civilization shunned them and clave to the St. Lawrence, so that the Saguenay and its Lake were never more than the home of a few traders and missionaries until Joseph Bouchette and others explored the Lake from Quebec (1827–8). Bouchette's route lay up the St. Maurice and La Tuque, not far from the present railway track from Quebec to Roberval-on-the-Lake, through lands which he said were less known than the heart of Africa. He urged the colonization of the Lake shores and of the river banks down to Chicoutimi, or a little further. In 1851 over 5,000, in 1901 nearly 50,000, colonists had responded to his call; and the St. Jean and Upper Saguenay district, with its capitals, Chicoutimi (pop. 5,796[1]), Hébertville (pop. 2,580[1]), and Roberval (pop. 2,593[1]) is a fine example of French-Canadian enterprise under the British régime.[2] This new district is an oasis redeemed from the wilderness and connected with the St. Lawrence and civilization by 190 miles of lonely railway, or seventy miles of the deep still waters of the lonely Saguenay.

Some four hundred miles due west of Lake St. Jean, between Lake Abitibi and Lake Timiskaming inclusively, there is a larger and richer clay belt which is now being reclaimed. Lake Timiskaming is an expansion of the upper

e.g. at Lake Timiskaming,

[1] Population, 1901.

[2] *Canada Dept. of Agriculture: La Contrée du Lac St. Jean,* 1888.

Ottawa, and lies on the main water-way by which Pierre De Troyes and Pierre Le Moyne D'Iberville attacked the Hudson Bay Company in James Bay (1686), and along which fur-traders still wander north; and it was a mere passage with a wayside inn, until rich cobalt and silver mines were discovered at Cobalt (November, 1903), and gold mines at Larder Lake close by. De Troyes' and the fur-traders' route to James Bay just missed Larder Lake, and in 1906 moose fed on its water-lilies, bears swam to its islets, loons wailed, and desolation reigned over it. Two years later machinery crushed quartz, and there was a gold 'city' on its shores.

For these reasons Lake Timiskaming has a railroad one hundred miles long to North Bay Junction (on Lake Nipissing), and so into the civilized parts of Ontario; and the railroad has now been continued for another hundred miles northward to Matheson close by Lake Abitibi; that is to say, right through the clay belt. At Porcupine Lake, near Matheson, important discoveries of gold were announced in 1909.

and other places.

The development of Lake St. Jean belongs to the past, that of Lake Abitibi and its neighbourhood to the present; and one hundred or two hundred miles west of Lake Abitibi there is a somewhat similar patch on the Archaean skirt, where a surveyor in 1907 discovered a lake fifty miles long, surrounded by rich clay, and unmarked on any map[1]; and similar discoveries are being made from time to time in the heart of the forest, which intervenes between the outer and inner limits of the Archaean wilderness. These districts belong to the future; and it is hoped that all these oases will ultimately hang together like beads upon a string by means of the National Transcontinental Railway which is in course of construction.

In Archaean Canada rivers and lakes serve as roads,

These tracts, where rocks and lakes produce wealth recall that 'good land of brooks, of waters, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills, of wheat and barley, . . .

[1] On the Kabinagagami River.

whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass'; and whether the lakes and rivers do or do not deposit soil, they are the natural roadways along which wealth is exchanged. As Pascal wrote, 'Les rivières sont des chemins qui marchent,' but rivers are the highways of Canada in a peculiar sense. Eternal forest makes other roads impossible or difficult; Canadian waters are as innumerable as the stars, and unless very deep or swift, freeze in winter. Archaean Canada is a labyrinth of waters; lakes lie on almost every watershed, and full-grown rivers start from the lakes on journeys many hundred miles in length towards every point of the compass. A few extreme examples will illustrate what is meant.

and water-partings are often water-meetings, e.g. at Lake Michikamau,

Nearly three hundred miles north of Mingan Isles there is a Lake, seventy miles from north to south, named Lake Michikamau, which discharges into North-West River, which discharges into Hamilton Inlet on the Atlantic. West of this lake is a lakelet which 'discharges—either into Lake Michikamau or southward into the Hamilton River according to the direction of the wind', and in spring the swollen lakelet discharges both ways simultaneously.[1] Further, a few miles north of Lake Michikamau, on 'very flat country', are two lakelets with a bog two hundred yards long between them, one lakelet discharging into Lake Michikamau, and therefore into Hamilton Inlet, and the other into George River, and therefore into Ungava Bay (Hudson Strait), so that particles of the same slime ooze from one bog towards bournes six hundred miles apart.[2]

at Frog Portage,

If we now travel from Lake Michikamau along its line of latitude in the Sun's course and at the Sun's pace for two hours and forty minutes, we shall reach a lakelet on a flat called Frog Portage, from which an affluent of the Nelson

[1] *Royal Geogr. Soc. Journ.* (1895), vol. v, p. 531 (map).
[2] Mrs. L. Hubbard, *A Woman's Way through unknown Labrador* (1908), pp. 174–5 (map).

flows, and into which the Churchill, during its annual flood-time, pours some of its waters[1]; so that the same waters reach Hudson Bay at points 150 miles apart. It might be thought that these lakelets, ponds, and flats—common to two water-systems—are occasional vagaries like Tuburi Marsh in Mid-Africa. But the same excuse will not explain what follows.

at Summit Lake in Labrador,

Returning now to a spot seventy miles south and one hundred and fifty miles west of Lake Michikamau, whence we came, we shall see a flat and on it a lakelet five miles long, called Summit Lake. 'The longest branch' of the Koksoak, which runs into Ungava Bay in Hudson Strait four hundred miles north, 'flows out of the northern end of Summit Lake (53° lat.), while a branch of the Manicouagan River,' which runs three hundred miles south into the St. Lawrence River, 'flows out of the southern end of the same lake, thus connecting by water the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Ungava Bay.'[2] In other words, everything east of this waterway, or half Labrador, is an island, bounded by fresh water on its west, and salt water on its north, east, and south. It is strange, but a geologist vouches for it and therefore it must be true. And still stranger things are true.

at Summit Lake near Nipigon,

Once more let us accompany the Sun on its westward race for an hour and a quarter, and then drop southward one degree, and we shall see another flat and another lakelet, called Summit Lake. It is three miles long, and 'sends a stream in both directions'—one to Lake Nipigon, and so to Lake Superior and to the river and gulf of St. Lawrence, and the other 'north to the Albany river', and so to James Bay (Hudson Bay).[3] Therefore everything east of this double stream, or nearly all Quebec Province and Ontario, is literally and in very truth an island bounded by fresh and salt water equally. And the strangest tale is to follow.

[1] Sir J. Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition* (1851), vol. i, p. 90.
[2] *Canada Rep. of Geological Survey* (1895), vol. viii, p. 25 *l*.
[3] *Canada Rep. of Geological Survey* (1902), vol. xv, pp. 217 *a*, 218 *a*.

Lake Athabasca (690 feet s.m.), the third inland sea of the basin of the Mackenzie, lies one thousand miles north-west of Lake Nipigon. Into its eastern corner, in a dyke between Archaean and Cambrian rocks, or between two species of Archaean rock, an affluent descends from Wollaston Lake (1,300 feet s.m.), whence an effluent descends by Reindeer Lake (1,150 feet s.m.) into the Churchill at Frog Portage, and so into Hudson Bay at Churchill, or in spring floods at Nelson. If so, all the 'barrens' of North-Western Canada and some of their adjacent forests are an island. Recent explorations have resolved one-half of Canada into three gigantic islands surrounded by sea and river. The nominal water-parting between two opposite river-systems is the real meeting-place of both; and there is nothing like this either in Africa or anywhere else in the world.

and at Wollaston Lake;

Even where this is not the case, the watershed is all but always the nearest approach to a plain in Archaean Canada; and Methye Portage is probably the only watershed that bears the faintest resemblance to a ridge. Americans call these roof-flats heights of land for fear that watersheds may suggest other associations. The boatman, whom his canoe bears from the Atlantic to the Arctic Ocean or to Hudson Bay, invariably finds the portages—or places where he reverses parts and bears his canoe—on the so-called watersheds the easiest with which he has to deal. The portages by the rapids give far more trouble, but not for long; thus the St. Lawrence from Lake Superior, and the Mackenzie from Lake Athabasca, only drop 602 feet and 690 feet respectively, or on an average one foot in three miles. Similarly in Russia, where portages were first described, the describers contrasted the ease with which boats were carried from the Volga to the Don, on the water-route from Moscow to Constantinople, with the difficulties of the ascent of the Onega on the water-route from the Arctic Ocean to Novgorod.[1]

and are nearly always flat.

[1] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigation*, vol. ii, p. 454; vol. iii, pp. 73 et seq.

Moreover in Canada the highest heights of land rarely exceed 2,000 feet s.m., and the highest mountains are hardly higher. But are they mountains?

Its hills are low.

A tourist who looks at Mount St. Anne (2,620 feet s.m.) behind Cap Tourmente (1,874 feet s.m.), or at Les Éboulements (2,551 feet s.m.), from a steamer on the St. Lawrence, or at Trembling Mountain (2,380 feet s.m.) in the Montreal District, looks at some of the loftiest heights from the lowest depths in Archaean Canada[1]; yet he is never conscious of the presence of mountains like Snowdon, partly because forests invest them from foot to blue rounded summit, and partly because the summits are mimicked and shadowed by numberless other blue, wavy, fretted summits of almost equal height. This country is no more mountainous than the Atlantic in a storm. These are not mountains, but the buttresses of an undulating plateau. The scenery here is comparatively bold, not because the hills are higher, but because the valleys are lower than usual. An equally bold descent marks the end of the Archaean system on the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior. The plateau resembles some old fort, with bastions and lunettes on its outline, guarded by abattis of living trees and moats of running water.

Branches of the St. Lawrence surround Archaean Canada above Montreal,

If we proceed westward from the Atlantic, the Gulf and river of St. Lawrence represent the moat as far as Montreal. In its lower reaches the river is about as wide as the Strait between Dover and Calais; but it narrows at Quebec to a little less than a mile, and retains that width as far as Lake Ontario, except where it expands into lakes from three to nine miles wide. There are no rapids east of Montreal, and ships of 15,000 tons visit Montreal. Above Cap Tourmente the river is fresh, and above Three Rivers tideless. At Montreal the St. Lawrence and Ottawa meet and their breadth is equal. Above Montreal, the main-

[1] Probably hills near Moisie River and at Cape Mugford almost attain 3,000 feet, those at Nachvak almost 4000 feet.

stream of the St. Lawrence having apparently abandoned the task, the Ottawa fills the dyke or moat for 170 miles; then fragments of dyke skirt the north shore of the Trent Lakes, Lake Couchiching, Lakes Huron and Superior, but the true moat wavers and wanders in its course. The moat between Montreal and Georgian Bay seems to be at one time the Ottawa, at another time the St. Lawrence, and at another time some more or less watery compromise between the two. After Georgian Bay it is clean-cut and sure of its way.

which branches may have been at one time the main-stream.

Even so men who were westward-bound used to travel along the St. Lawrence from Quebec or Three Rivers, and pause at Montreal in doubt as to which way they should go. Montreal was Doubting Castle. Rapids lay above it both on the St. Lawrence and on the Ottawa. The usual course of early voyagers was up the Ottawa, past the capital of the Ottawas[1] on Allumette Island, along the Mattawa, and thence over a flat watershed into the Lake of the Nipissings,[1] and down French River into Georgian Bay, where the Hurons dwelt. Possibly the St. Lawrence once flowed along this very course; and this course was taken by Le Caron and Champlain (1615–16), and by the Jesuits who founded the doomed mission of St. Mary on the limestones near Midland on Georgian Bay (1640). A second route lay up the St. Lawrence to the Bay of Quinté on Lake Ontario, where there was an early Sulpician mission (1666), and thence along the Trent and its lakes beneath the shadow of the Archaean rim; then across a flat watershed into Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching; and this route also ended in Georgian Bay. Orillia on Lake Couchiching was the Huron capital, and two-thirds of this route, or that part which lay between Georgian Bay and Kingston, was one-third of Champlain's route from Montreal to Lake Ontario (1615–16), fear of the Iroquois having made him avoid the direct route from Kingston to Montreal, which was first followed

[1] Algonquins.

by the Jesuit, Le Moyne (1653), but of which La Salle was the lay pioneer (1669). The second or middle route lay midway between the possible ancient and the actual modern channel of the St. Lawrence; and for aught we know the St. Lawrence may have flowed this very way in the middle ages of geological history. The route by the actual St. Lawrence and its seas was the third and latest way to the west, and forts were built between river and seas, or between seas and seas at Kingston (1673), Niagara (1678–9), Detroit (1686), and Sault St. Marie (1669), a few hundred miles apart from one another. Beyond these forts there were missions, forts, or both, at Mackinaw and Green Bay on Lake Michigan (U. S.), and at Duluth on Lake Superior (U. S.), before Lake Ontario was explored or Lake Erie known; and these posts, like those on Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, led to the Mississippi and its tributaries. Later forts were also established at Grand Portage and Fort William, on the west of Lake Superior, as gateways to the north-west for north-western travellers, and as goals for travellers from east or west. Sometimes western and north-western travellers took a short cut from Toronto to Lake Simcoe, and thence either by Lake Couchiching, or, like Franklin (1825), by the Nottawasaga, to Georgian Bay; but, although a fort was built at Toronto in 1749, this short cut played no part in Canadian history during the French régime.

Quebec and Ontario are concerned with the St. Lawrence and its possible earlier courses.

Quebec and Ontario provinces are vast—both extend to Hudson Bay—and the former includes Labrador, and the latter includes the Lake of the Woods between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg. The boundary between the two provinces is (1) the Ottawa, of which the north and east banks as far as Lake Timiskaming belong to Quebec, while the south and west banks, including Cobalt and the railway to Abitibi, belongs to Ontario; (2) an imaginary line due north from Lake Timiskaming to James Bay; and (3) a line from the

head of Lac des deux Montagnes—which is the first expansion of the Ottawa above Montreal—to Pointe au Baudet on the St. Lawrence. But those parts of Quebec and Ontario Provinces in which history was made lie between narrow confines. All their historical events took place in the valley of the St. Lawrence. There their colonies and towns were built, their battles fought, and their industrial successes won. In former times the river was called Canada; and what was once called Canada, and is now called the Middle East of Canada, is essentially the country of the River St. Lawrence. What the Nile is to Egypt and the Soudan, the St. Lawrence is to Quebec and Ontario. But the St. Lawrence is purer and straighter than the Nile. It has infinite islands but no mud islands or deltas, not even at its mouth, and for its last thousand miles, from Detroit to Pointe des Monts, the distances by air, land, or water differ but little. As the Nile above Khartum is the White and Blue Nile, so the St. Lawrence above Montreal is the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence; so that the Upper Province is the Province of Two Rivers. Quebec Province is bounded on the south partly by the boundary-line which has already been described,[1] then by the Appalachian range, then by the 45th parallel of latitude until it strikes the St. Lawrence at St. Regis opposite Cornwall. Parts of the Appalachian range within Maine, Vermont, and New York States may be seen on a clear day from any hill-top between Montreal and Quebec, and on the north of the river the crowded hill-tops of Archaean Canada loom near at hand. All that is of interest in old Canadian history took place within these narrow limits. The figure described within these limits represents from time to time enclosed spaces, of small size in Quebec Province and of large size in Ontario, but French civilization might be typified by the straight line of the St. Lawrence, upon which miniature circles and triangles were sometimes described on its islands

[1] *ubi supra*, p. 18.

or at the confluence of its principal tributaries. No serious effort was made to fill the whole enclosed space until the very end of the eighteenth century. Above Cornwall, the southern limit of Ontario—for we are already in Ontario—lies in the present bed of the St. Lawrence and its inland seas, until Pigeon River on the west coast of Lake Superior is reached. Thence it continues up the old river route from Grand Portage on Pigeon River to the 49th parallel of latitude, which is the international boundary of the middle and extreme west of Canada as far as the Pacific. Rivers have never been boundaries for long, either in Asia, Africa, or Europe, and parallels and meridians have only been effective boundaries between 'spheres of influence' in barbaric countries or between British provinces. The immediate palpable effect of these arbitrary lines was that in Ontario new towns sprang up at Niagara, Detroit River, and Sault St. Marie, opposite American towns or vice versa; and that the starting-point on Lake Superior for the middle west and north-west was shifted from Grand Portage to Fort William, forty miles north (1803), the old and new ways meeting rather more than one hundred miles west of the two starting-points. Ontario, south of the most ancient possible course of the St. Lawrence to Georgian Bay, is sometimes nicknamed old Ontario; it too has narrow confines, but it was always thought of as a triangle which colonists tried to fill. Nevertheless nearly all its principal towns lie on one of the three ways to the west, and on a Silurian or Devonian, not on an Archaean, foundation. The civilization of the middle east abhorred granite, and its line of life was thin-spun and single, except where the St. Lawrence seemed to go or to have gone two or three ways, and there it too became double or triple, and tried to cover the interval between the threads. West of French River the line is once more frail and single, and is symbolized by the Canadian Pacific Railway as it runs along or near the north shore of the first and

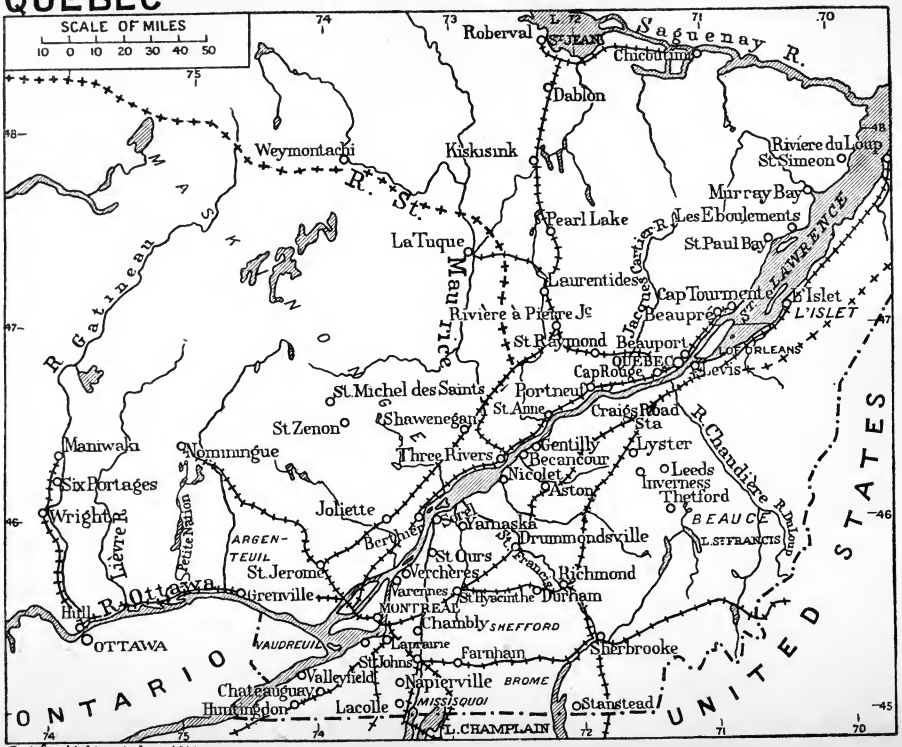
second seas of the St. Lawrence as far as Fort William, which shines with the reflected glory of the middle west. After Fort William there are forty miles of the old water-system, 350 miles of a new water-system with the old wilderness, and then a new country.

Middle East is the country of the St. Lawrence.

But we must return to the middle east, which suggests three reflections. First, because it is the country of one great river, because that river is a pre-eminent example of 'Les chemins qui marchent', and because all its main railways and roadways double or treble the course or courses of the great river, there is an incessant stream, not only of water but of men and things perpetually moving along the western way. Secondly, from end to end of the middle east there is not one rock later than rocks of Devonian age, which rocks precede Carboniferous rocks in the geological scale; consequently there is no coal. Thirdly, the middle west is often called the north-west because its southern limit is 49° lat. or two degrees north of Quebec City, and it is proposed that the National Transcontinental Railway shall connect it with Quebec by a straight line. When this is complete it is thought that the single thread with knots, networks, and tangles here and there, which is the emblem of Canadian destiny, will be changed into an immense triangle with a base 1,200 miles long; the middle east will no longer be length without breadth, and a new era will dawn. The St. Lawrence, which has hitherto been the only 'Leit-Faden' of the middle east, will be left at Quebec, and the track will plunge at once into the primeval forest, catching up cross-threads here and there, like that at Abitibi, but without emerging until its journey is at an end. A more familiar metaphor is often used. It is said that hitherto the middle east has been like a row of one-storied houses in Quebec Province, and of two-storied houses in Old Ontario, with two or three scaffolds and ladders erected to an unbuilt upper storey, and that the time has now come to build

a still higher storey all along the upper ends of the scaffolds and ladders. The metaphor is not quite exact, for it can hardly be expected that the living places along the new track will be continuous with themselves and with the old track. Along the old track nothing is so striking as the continuous civilization which lines the valley of the St. Lawrence up to Lake Superior; but the continuity was attained by different methods and processes and with different results in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario.

QUEBEC



B.V. Berkshire, Oxford, 1910

CHAPTER VI

THE MIDDLE EAST

Quebec or The Province of Two Nations and one River.

Quebec Province is primarily French.

Quebec is the Province of two nations—Old French and New English—the former underlying the latter, and having the first choice of place, but both mingling and alternating in the centres of most disturbance, like successive geological strata. Both cleave to the St. Lawrence, but the French, who were there first, cleave most closely. The cities which were chosen by the French were on critical points on the great river, and are therefore most altered. In the chief cities as well as in the country districts the French are still first.

Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal were Indian and French Capitals.

Under the French régime there were only three cities in Canada: Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, which were founded in 1608, 1634, and 1641 respectively. These three places are all north of the St. Lawrence, and were in 1535 the chief places of the Indians,[1] who lived on the St. Lawrence and spoke Iroquois, and may have been Hurons or Mohawks for aught we know, and were wiped clean out before 1608, when their vacant seats were filled by Frenchmen, who for awhile shunned the south shore as though it were plague-stricken. Again, each of these places lies at an angle formed by two rivers, as though for trade or defence. At Quebec, Cartier dwelt on the east bank of the St. Charles, in whose mouth his ships lay, and on the other side of which the friendly Indians occupied Quebec itself. Recollets, Jesuits, and fur-traders chose Three Rivers because it was on the St. Maurice, which, unlike the St. Charles, went far inland,

[1] *sub. nom.* Stadacona, Ochelay, Hochelaga.

and at whose head waters the Atticamegues[1] dwelt. Moreover, every year until Montreal was founded, and often in later years, the Ottawas of Allumette Island[1] used to travel north by the Gatineau and south by the St. Maurice in order to bring their peltry to Three Rivers without passing Montreal. At Montreal the Ottawa joined the St. Lawrence. Further, each of these cities has or is an island; for early mariners conceived the St. Lawrence as a sea-arm, and chose their harbours on or behind islands. And islands had other advantages. The island of Orleans which sheltered, fed Quebec, and when Champlain saw the St. Maurice he wrote, 'There is one island in the middest of the said river . . . This would be a very fit place to inhabit, and it might be quickly fortified.'[2] Montreal is an island of 123 square miles, or twice as large as Manhattan *plus* Hong Kong *plus* Bombay, but not so large as Singapore, but with far greater opportunities for agriculture and far greater exposure to attack and far less opportunities for defence than its peers.

In each of these three places the French pioneers occupied the very isles and isle-guarded peninsulas on the north bank where their first Indian friends flourished and vanished. The three sites had different advantages.

In French times Quebec was the chief fort and only European port;

Quebec is a city on a hill—strong, fair, and opportune. Nine miles above it is Cap Rouge, where Cartier and Roberval wintered (1541–3) in order to be near, but not too near, their friends at Quebec. Opposite Cap Rouge is the Chaudière, a highway of the Abenaki Indians,[1] who dwelt on the Kennebec River in Maine (United States); and who in 1641 sent envoys along this highway to Quebec in order to make an alliance with some Ottawas,[1] then resident at Three Rivers. While Quebec opened up the friendly southerners, Three Rivers opened up the friendly northerners and westerners; and Quebec and Three Rivers, between them,

[1] Algonquins.
[2] Champlain, *Voyages*, ed. E. G. Bourne (1906), vol. ii, p. 185.

became junctions and asylums for friendly Algonquins of the distant south and the distant north and west. Quebec, too, became the port for the European vessels upon whose annual arrival the trade, safety, and existence of Canada depended. When Kirke (1629) and Wolfe (1759) took Quebec, everything west of it was doomed, because Quebec was the only link of Canada with Europe. But they had to leave in November and could never come before Spring, so that Quebec was left to its own military resources every winter. During five months of the year it is useful only as a fort, for ice makes it useless as a port; then when the thaw comes it proudly raises its head and brings Europe into the heart of America, and makes the uttermost waters of the basin of the St. Lawrence and the seas which beat against England and France a single waterway.

Three Rivers was the starting-point of fur-traders, the resort of friendly Indians, and the market of both,

Three Rivers never had direct dealings with Europe, and Europeans scarcely knew of it except as a half-way house between Quebec and Montreal; but it was the first base of the western fur-trade and the first goal of the western Indians. Nipissings[1] and Hurons, as well as Ottawas[1] and Atticamegues,[1] came hither year in and year out to meet the Governor-General and his suite, who came in large boats or little brigantines from Quebec to meet them. It was the home of interpreters such as Pierre Boucher, Jean and Thomas Godefroy, Jacques Hertel, Jean Nicolet, Médard Chouart Sieur des Groseilliers, and Pierre Esprit Radisson, who were the lay pioneers of the far west. In 1653 two of these interpreters visited Green Bay (Lake Michigan), from which the Mississippi was discovered; in 1656 Lake Winnipeg was known to them by name[2]; and in 1661 Groseilliers and Radisson went from here to the River Nipigon on the north-west shore of Lake Superior, where Duluth built a fort (1684), from which La Verendrye, a native of Three Rivers,

[1] Algonquins.
[2] B. Sulte, *Chronique Trifluvienne* (1879), p. 174.

advanced in order to build a chain of forts between Lake Superior and Winnipeg (1731 et seq.). Three Rivers had a long reach inland, which Quebec never had. It seemed too at one time that it might become a federal capital for the Algonquins and Hurons under French protection. It also had a relentless foe across the water who rarely wrought havoc in the neighbourhood of Quebec, but incessantly attacked Three Rivers. This foe was the Iroquois.

and was attacked by Mohawks;

The Iroquois, who spread death along the south shore of the St. Lawrence, and dread from James Bay to the Atlantic, were the Five Nations; and the Mohawks, who more especially menaced the Lower St. Lawrence, dwelt where the Appalachian range would be if it were a ridge. Between Temiscouata and Rivière du Loup this range is a wooded ridge 1,324 feet high, in the midst of wooded hills 1,000 feet higher; further south-west, between the sources of the Chaudière and Kennebec, it is still the same ridge and 1,854 feet high; and between the St. Francis and Connecticut Rivers, where the watershed is on Canadian soil, this selfsame ridge is 1,585 feet high, and its coronet of wooded hill-tops twice that height. A little further on, the ridge vanishes and is replaced by a watershed, 120 miles south of the Canadian border, and 150 feet high, dividing two rivers, each running due north and south—the Hudson to New York, 200 miles south; and the Richelieu and its expansion Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence at Sorel, 180 miles north. The range only exists for the eye of faith, and the watershed is about the same height as that in the Petitcodiac or Annapolis Valleys; but the rivers which it divides are great navigable rivers, the only obstruction on the Richelieu being at Chambly, where the river falls nearly seventy feet in two miles. The Mohawks lived west of this watershed, on the Mohawk, a western tributary of the Upper Hudson, and the rest of the Five Nations lived still further west. The four Western Nations menaced the St. Lawrence from above

Montreal to the west end of Lake Erie; and the Mohawks shot down the Richelieu to Sorel like arrows from a bow. When the Mohawks heard that the Hurons and Algonquins passed the mouth of the Richelieu annually on their way to Three Rivers, they felt as sportsmen would feel on hearing of an annual migration of caribou past their lodge-gate. Père Jogues was their first prize, and was the first to make the through trip from Sorel to New York (1642). The Iroquois seized him as he started from Three Rivers for the west, took him to the Mohawk, tortured, burned, maimed, and mutilated him; then he escaped to New York and France, returned twice to the Iroquois of his own accord, and was killed. The Richelieu was the road to Calvary, and every field near it was watered with the blood of the victims of the Iroquois.

> Près de la borne où chaque état commence
> Aucun épi n'est pur de sang humain.

Montreal was bulwark and base of operations against the Iroquois and became the chief base of fur-traders and goal of Indians.

As a take-off for Europe Quebec was alone, but as a take-off for the west Three Rivers had a younger rival in Montreal. In 1656[1] the race between Three Rivers and Montreal began in earnest: when La Salle's explorations of Lake Ontario and the south-west began (1669), Montreal was his only base, and after that date Three Rivers was more or less eclipsed. Montreal was exposed to the full fury not only of the Mohawks but of all the Iroquois. After 1643 the Mohawks chastised Three Rivers with whips but Montreal with scorpions. They descended the Richelieu to Chambly, forty-seven miles above Sorel, and crossed by the Little Montreal and La Prairie Rivers to Laprairie, opposite Montreal. Sometimes, too, other Iroquois descended the St. Lawrence from Oswego (United States) on Ontario Lake, so that Montreal was between two fires, from east and south-west. Adam Daulac's heroism at the Long Sault on the Ottawa (1660) and Madeleine's defence of Verchères (1692) saved Montreal

[1] Sulte's date.

from attacks from the west and north respectively. The Iroquois, so long as they commanded the river, threatened Montreal from every side. Montreal was Castle Dangerous. Down to 1665 the Iroquois made the existence of Montreal hang in the balance; after that date counter attacks were organized, and Montreal was comparatively secure. The power of the Iroquois was broken, and the Iroquois gradually ceased to be a political force of first-rate importance. Then Montreal asserted its geographical superiority over Three Rivers, and fur-traders for the west and friendly Indians from the west gradually began to prefer Montreal to Three Rivers, as base, goal and meeting place.

Expansion began from the three French capitals;

The best defence of the French colonists was expansion, and expansion was from the same three centres, and was both on the north and on the south side of the river; for in the history of civilization the country which tries to keep one river-bank invariably gains or loses both.

from Quebec along the east shore and islands 1620 et seq.,

At Quebec Louis Hébert of Paris, and his son-in-law Guillaume Couillard, farmed in the Twenties. East of Quebec, and west of Montmorency Falls, Robert Giffard of Perche became seigneur of Beauport, and stocked his seignory with colonists in the Thirties. In the Forties other seigneurs did the same for Beaupré,—which is east of Beauport and extends eastward to Les Éboulements—and for the limestone islands which began with the Island of Orléans and end opposite St. Paul's Bay in the Isle aux Coudres. The inhabitants of Beaupré dwelt west of Cap Tourmente, where limestone, fresh water, and wheat-growing end; or at St. Paul's Bay, under the shadow of Les Éboulements, and outnumbered the inhabitants of the capital in 1667. In 1628 David Kirke raided Cap Tourmente, and in 1759 James Wolfe raided Beaupré from end to end, and occupied the Island of Orléans in order to starve Quebec. The island of Orléans was also more populous than its capital in 1667; and from that date it and Beaupré have changed but little down

to to-day. Nor has Beauport changed much along the shore line.

by means of seignories and habitants,

The Seignory or Lordship or Manor of Beauport was three miles long and four miles deep, and of Beaupré forty-eight miles long and eighteen miles deep: the 'long' side being along the St. Lawrence, which served as road, till roads were built, and the 'deep' side being uninhabited and uncultivated, except for a short distance from its long side. The building of roads and the clearing of the forest, of which the whole valley of the St. Lawrence consisted, was usually the duty of the lords of the manor or seigneurs, but invariably the act of the habitants or copyholders whom their lords imported and planted. In order to build roads across their front the habitants required narrow and contiguous fronts. The first holdings of the habitants in Beauport were from ten to seventeen-fold, and of those in Beaupré forty-fold deeper than wide. Roads crept on from front to front, and clearances crept on from front to rear; and the rearmost depths were often forfeited, because they had not been reclaimed, or even used, by their nominal possessors. Sometimes whole seignories deserved or incurred the same fate.

and west and south-west by means of Indian settlers,

West of Quebec eight or more seignories had been created before 1660 around the mouths of the Cap Rouge, Jacques Cartier, Portneuf, and St. Anne Rivers, and all were empty except two. The first exception was Portneuf, which is forty miles above Quebec and below Three Rivers, and had colonists before 1645, but its lord belonged more to Three Rivers than to Quebec[1]; and the second exception was Sillery, which is four miles or so above Quebec, and there Jesuits and others began to fold converted Algonquins and Hurons like sheep within a pen in 1639. In the Fifties the Huron pen was transferred to the Island of Orléans, and afterwards to St. Foy and Old and New Lorette close behind Quebec; and it is still at

[1] Jacques Le Neuf de La Potherie.

New Lorette. Consequently Quebec had a motley Indian fringe immediately inland and on its west. Its white men did not expand to the west until later than 1665. Before 1689 the Abenaki of Sillery had been sent across the St. Lawrence to a pen at the mouth of the Chaudière; the other Algonquins of Sillery had died out, and it was then that the left bank became wholly and solely a white man's country.

and on the south bank towards the east;

Père Druillètes, the missionary of the Abenaki, was the spiritual (1646), François Bissot and Guillaume Couture, issue-in-law of Couillard and so of Hébert, were the secular pioneers of the right bank of the St. Lawrence, Bissot and Couture settling at Lévis opposite Quebec (1646–7). A little later, Montmagny acquired and colonized the Rivière du Sud further east, and a bridge of islands thence to the Island of Orléans (1646–55). Next, issue-in-law of Giffard took up the tale and acquired the colonized St. Roch des Aulmais (1657) and St. Anne de la Pocadière (1672); and a Couillard acquired and colonized L'Islet (1671). Then Bissot's sons acquired and colonized Vincennes, between Lévis and Rivière du Sud (1672). Thus members of the Hébert and Giffard groups trumped one another's last cards and went step by step, islet by islet, along the right bank, away from the Iroquois, and like lemmings towards the sea. In 1759 Wolfe seized Lévis and raided St. Roch and St. Anne, which were then the chief villages, for towns there were none.

expansion on the Richelieu was from Europe, Three Rivers, and Montreal;

Before 1665 no one dwelt on the right bank of the St. Lawrence anywhere east of Longueuil (if there), and west of the Algonquin settlement at the mouth of the Chaudière. In that year forts were built at Sorel and Chambly, and a road fifteen miles long was built along the old Mohawk trail from Chambly to Laprairie, opposite Montreal. This was the first road in the province. The triangle thus formed between Laprairie, Chambly, and Sorel was both military and industrial; and it bid defiance to the Mohawks, screening Three Rivers and Montreal from their attacks. It was the first public

colonial enterprise, since Montreal was founded, the first mean term between Three Rivers and Montreal, and leading men from both cities, but more especially from Three Rivers, took part in it.

Charles Le Moyne of Montreal had founded the seignory of Longueuil opposite Montreal in 1657, and cultivation began here in the late sixties; otherwise Montreal took ittle direct part in colonizing the right bank. Nearly all the first seigneurs of the new seignories were officers of the Carignan-Salières regiment, who were fresh from Europe, and some of whom, like Contrecœur, Sorel, St. Ours, and Varennes, proved successes, while others like Chambly proved failures. The inhabitants were either soldiers of the same regiment, or some of the immigrants whom Pierre Boucher of Three Rivers attracted to Canada on his visit to France (1661–2). For between 1663 and 1672 Canada received the largest batch of immigrants that ever went from Europe to French Canada, and the population, which was 2,000 in 1662, rose to 6,700 in 1672. After that date immigration ceased during the French régime. Pierre Boucher and Three Rivers were identified with one another, and Three Rivers was the most important centre from which the new colonists were distributed.

Three Rivers expanded east, west, and south,

At Three Rivers, as at Quebec, there was a family party whose sons and sons-in-law went east, west, and south; and the peopling of Grosbois (1669) and Yamachiche (1703) on the west, and about the same date of Champlain, Grondines, and St. Anne de la Pérade, on the east of Three Rivers, may be traced not merely to Three Rivers but to Boucher or some one of his relatives. South of the St. Lawrence there are five rivers between the Chaudière and the Richelieu, none of which were used by Indians as through routes—the Du Chêne, Bécancour, Nicolet, St. Francis, and Yamaska; and colonists settled at Gentilly (1676) and Bécancour (1680) on the Bécancour, and at St. Francis (1674), Nicolet (1676), and Yamaska on the mouths of the rivers of those names.

e.g. to St. Francis river where Indians also settled.

Of these settlements St. Francis was the most typical and important. It was on an islet at the river-mouth, as was Nicolet, and its colonists were all from Three Rivers and under the guidance of a relative of Boucher. Shortly after its foundation Abenaki arrived from the Chaudière and settled at St. Francis, even as they had settled at the Chaudière and Bécancour, so that an Indian fringe was apparently being created all along the right bank of the St. Lawrence. Lastly, this sub-colony on the St. Francis opened up a new through-route up the St. Francis and down the Connecticut to the Atlantic, which Indians knew but neglected, but which the descendants of Hertel, the interpreter, used in their raids against Salmon Falls (1690) and Haverhill (1708), and Robert Rogers used on his return from his counter-raid against St. Francis (1759). This is the only river-route in Canada which can fairly be described as a white man's route; a route, that is to say, whose utility white men were the first to appreciate. But in French times it was a route and nothing more. Settlers never ventured up-stream.

At the end of the French period the settlements on the left bank of the St. Lawrence became continuous,

The energetic initiative of the soldiery and of the little group of enthusiasts at Three Rivers was contagious, and soon after the wars of the Sixties seignories on paper lined both banks of the St. Lawrence, from Montreal to Les Éboulements on the north bank and Cape Chat on the south bank. It was a thin, narrow, close-packed line, and except in the triangle of the Richelieu and St. Lawrence all the seignories abutted on the St. Lawrence, until almost the end of the chapter. It became a real line on the north bank when the Government completed a road for sledges (1721), and carriages (1734), between Quebec and Montreal (1721), and the road soon began to resemble the street of a straggling village. In the last period of the French régime seignories extended up the Richelieu to the frontier, but they were shams above Chambly. The Hertel brother-raiders from Three Rivers had succeeded Chambly at Chambly, and came

to own St. Charles and the volcanic mountains of Beloeil or Rouville close by; and they brought in settlers. Both Chambly and Sorel were square-shaped, and lay on both sides of the Richelieu, like square-rigging on a mast, so that settlers here doubtless overlapped the river towards the Yamaska, where the uppermost seignory was at St. Hyacinthe. Shadowy seignories ascended the Chaudière to where its tributary the Du Loup joins it, and the modern roadway and railway to Portland (United States) diverge, and at that spot Benedict Arnold found settlers in 1775. Some civilization crept up these three southern affluents of the St. Lawrence, but without system or purpose.

and Montreal expanded westward,

On the west of Montreal a tiny triangle between the St. Lawrence and Ottawa was marked off into seignories, and sparsely colonized at the eleventh hour of the French dominion; and it belongs for that reason to the Province of Quebec, although geographically it seems a part of Ontario; while opposite it, on the north, there was the Lake of Two Mountains, with a settlement of Algonquins and Iroquois, and on the south there were settlements of Iroquois at Caughnawaga and St. Régis, but for which the south bank of the St. Lawrence above Montreal was all but empty. At one time an Indian fringe hung along exposed parts of the frontier with a seriousness and system which suggests that the authors of the policy deemed Canada a province more like East India than what we usually call a colony. Indian reservations may still be seen a New Lorette, Bécancour, St. Francis, Caughnawaga, St. Régis, and the Lake of Two Mountains; and some people point to them as the ruined remnants of a wall of red men which was once meant to run round and protect what once was Canada; others compare them to pounds for deer, decoys for wild birds, kennels for the dogs of war, industrial schools, or labour colonies. But perhaps they were the outcome of mixed motives, and never had one *raison d'être.*

having the usual Indian fringe.

In the English period Quebec was the vital spot.

Under British rule none of the conditions which have been described changed materially, and the military geography of Quebec Province proved almost immutable. The substitution of Americans for Iroquois and British for French had scarcely changed the importance of, or the approaches to the chief cities.

In the Anglo-French war one deadly blow was struck from the sea at Quebec, and Wolfe won nothing but Quebec, but Quebec was everything (1759). Then what was won was almost lost in winter, but won again in spring by British ships; and when Amherst swept down to Montreal along the two Iroquois routes from Lake Champlain and Oswego he only gave the *coup de grâce*. So far as river-routes went, Amherst, like De Courcelles and Frontenac, was only the pupil of the Iroquois, but the sea-route was the decisive route.

and Montreal the most exposed place.

In the next war Richard Montgomery took Montreal by the old Mohawk route to Laprairie (1775),—for Montreal was still as vulnerable and exposed as it had been a century ago,—and Quebec was once more the only, though the vital spot in British hands. Then Benedict Arnold attacked Quebec in winter from the old Kennebec-Chaudière route of the Abenaki, and just failed. Spring returned; Quebec was relieved from the sea; and when it was safe, the rest of Canada was safe. We hear of emissaries from the Upper Connecticut being checked on the Upper St. Francis; otherwise the same old story was repeated.

In the third war (1812–14) Quebec was immune, and the River Richelieu and Lake Ontario once more poured hostile forces against Montreal; but the country had changed somewhat. The civilized triangle on the south of Montreal had grown in size, and its base was no longer the old road from Laprairie to Chambly, but the international frontier. There were roads too inside the triangle, one of which went due west from St. John's on the Richelieu to the St. Lawrence, and another went due south from the St. Lawrence to the frontier

near Odelltown and Lacolle Mills; while other roads led from Chateauguay in the west of the triangle direct to Plattsburg (New York) on Lake Champlain. Therefore the war-cloud hovered over Plattsburg, Lacolle Mills, Odelltown, and Chateauguay, and although the old Iroquois duet was sung again by American voices, it was sung with variations.

Seignories were preserved and new townships opened,

For a time the arts of peace were as conservative as the ways of war. The old seignorial system was as immutable as ever. The old seignories had been utilized as, or divided into parishes in the early eighteenth century; and had been utilized as, or grouped into counties in the last half of the century, but survived unchanged as the basis of agriculture. Two new seignories had been created in Murray Bay east of St. Paul's Bay, and given to Scotch lairds, who forthwith talked French and turned themselves into seigneurs, their kilts into sashes, and their crofters into red- and blue-capped habitants. Many lordships but few holdings changed hands, and hundreds of habitants to-day own holdings which their forefathers cleared two hundred years ago or more, thus belonging to what they call 'la noblesse de la charrue'. The institution made for permanence and stability, but it was far from universal. Nearly half the valley of the St. Lawrence lay south of the seignories and north of the frontier; and here there was a new district congenial to Britons, and to which British energy soon began to be applied in a truly British way. Roads were built, townships were laid out, and immigrants were introduced.

e.g. townships on the St. Francis;

The scenery of the Richelieu is un-English partly because there is no English river so straight, wide, and deep as this river; and partly because there are no English hills like the row of ex-volcanic hills of Devonian age—Mount Royal, Montarville, Beloeil, Rougemont, Johnson, Shefford, and Yamaska—which adorn its neighbourhood. But the five unused rivers between the Chaudière and Richelieu are of English size, and their shallow upper waters wind in and out

of hills which stand to the Appalachian range much as hill-tops by the Wye and Severn stand to Plinlimmon. Of these rivers the river which has the most English look and English surroundings is the St. Francis, and the St. Francis runs right through the heart of this district. A survey was ordered (1791), proclamations and rules drafted (1792), check lines run (1793), instructions (1796), and maps (1803) issued, in order to attract settlers. But convenient roads and intelligible tenures were also required.

roads were built along the Chaudière, and St. Francis, and between them, and the eastern townships began to exist;

In 1830 four main roads were more or less complete. (1) The Kennebec, or Merrick Road, ran up the Chaudière and Du Loup, and down the Kennebec, by the route which Montresor took when he went South (1761), and was first used for carriages in 1830. This route must not be confused with Montresor's (1761) and Arnold's (1775) northward route, which the recent railway by Lake Megantic follows. (2) A stage-coach ran thrice a week from opposite Three Rivers to the St. Francis, and thence up the St. Francis, past the villages of Richmond with its twelve houses, and of Sherbrooke with its fifty houses, to Stanstead on the frontier 129 miles away; whence the traveller might wander by road into the valley of the Connecticut, or along the frontier to the Richelieu.[1] The white man's one and only river-route was shadowed by a British-Canadian road, along which towns were growing. The St. Francis was still connected with Three Rivers as of old. (3) Another one-hundred-mile road started from the St. Lawrence up a tributary of the Chaudière called the Beaurivage, by 'Craig's Road Station' to Leeds, Inverness, Craig's Bridge, and Kempt's Bridge (which is ten miles north-west of Lake St. Francis), and so to Richmond, which is on the St. Francis. This road connected the St. Francis more or less with Quebec. Part or all of this road was called Craig's Road because Sir J. Craig employed Quartermaster-General Sir J. Kempt

[1] British American Land Co., *Information respecting the Eastern Townships*, 1833.

and soldiers on its construction; but it was unpopular because for sixty miles of its course there was no public house, and for twenty-seven miles only one private house.[1] (4) An eighty-mile road continued from Richmond by Sutton to Farnham on the Yamaska, and thence to the Richelieu between St. John's and Chambly; whence the traveller might reach Montreal by the roads already described. Therefore the St. Francis was connected more or less with Montreal. The third and fourth roads followed neither river nor hill nor valley, but ran across the grain. They were the first cross-grained roads in the Province. Each of these roads had a distinct influence, and all led to the United States. The first road connected Quebec with Boston and Portland (United States), and the other roads connected the St. Francis with Boston on the one hand, and with Three Rivers, Quebec, and Montreal on the other hand. Less than thirty years later the first through railway was opened. It ran from the valley of the Connecticut, by Hertel's route and Rogers' return route, up the St. Francis to Richmond, and then diverged into a Y, one branch of the Y going to Quebec and the other to Montreal—or, rather, to points opposite to these cities.[2] The railway went almost the same way as three of the roads which have been described, and enhanced their influences. Thus, although it detached Richmond and everything south of Richmond from Three Rivers, and made Sherbrooke supplant Three Rivers as the half-way house between Quebec and Montreal, it brought Quebec and Montreal into closer contact with the eastern States of America through Sherbrooke. For by this time Sherbrooke had become the judicial, manufacturing, and commercial capital of what was once called the St. Francis District, but was also known as the Eastern Townships.

[1] C. M. Day, *History of the Eastern Townships*, 1868, p. 220.
[2] British-American Land Company, *Emigration to Canada, The Eastern Townships*, 1859.

The eastern townships lined the frontier:

Common people defined the Eastern Townships as rather wider than the judicial district of St. Francis, which was created in 1823.[1] In popular usage the Eastern Townships meant the district traversed by these four roads, except where the first road shadowed that part of the Chaudière which lies north of its affluent the Du Loup, and except where the other roads reached seignories on the Richelieu, Yamaska, and St. Lawrence. All the frontier from close by the Richelieu to the Du Loup belonged to the Eastern Townships; and the northern limits just included Actonvale, Drummondville, Aston, Blandford, Lyster, Inverness, Leeds, and Tring. Politicians added to the Eastern Townships of common speech a thin western wing along the frontier between the uppermost seignory on the Richelieu and the point where the frontier and the St. Lawrence intersect, and a still thinner eastern wing along the frontier from the Du Loup to the Temiscouata portage. In their view the Eastern Townships meant the townships which formed a buffer between the seignories and the United States. When Sir George Prevost advocated 'a barrier of wilderness against the Americans',[2] he wanted to substitute bears, beavers, wolves, and moose, for human beings in the Eastern Townships, not merely in the neighbourhood of the St. Francis, but all the way from St. Régis to Lake Temiscouata. Both politicians and common people illogically confined the expression to the townships at the back of the seignories on the right bank of the St. Lawrence; for at the back of the seignories on the left bank of the St. Lawrence townships were also introduced, and with them the same new type of civilization. In 1814 there were 150, before 1795 there were no townships in Quebec Province; and townships soon covered half as much country as that

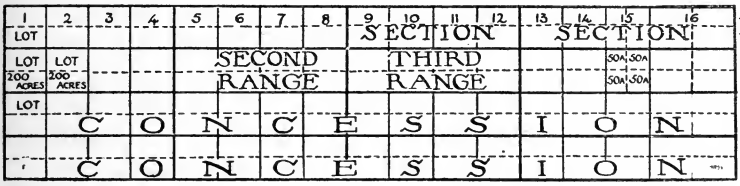
[1] The judicial district is defined by Bouchette, *Topographical Dictionary, sub. nom.* 'Districts'.

[2] Cited e.g. *Accounts and Papers* (1826–7), (vol. v), *Third Report on Emigration*, Appendix, p. 516; and comp. Kingsford, *History of Canada*, vol. ix, p. 41 n.

which was covered by seignories. Townships were the new note of British policy; and there had been nothing like it hitherto in Quebec Province. But what, it may be asked, is a township?

townships differing from seignories

An Englishman who was asked this question in 1827 drew a diagram like that which is below, and, modelling his style on Euclid,[1] replied much as follows:—



'A township', he said, 'is a parallelogram which sometimes contains 20 to 36 square miles, like the above, or sometimes 100 to 144 square miles.[2] It is divided horizontally and vertically by thick lines which are roads. All continuous lines divide it into 200 acre lots. Each block of 4 lots is a section, 4 horizontal sections are (sometimes) called a concession, and 4 vertical sections a range. Each section is surrounded by roads, therefore *à fortiori* each concession or range is surrounded by roads.' The figure resembles the plan of numbered seats at a theatre with gangways and rows. A model seignory would be represented by a parallelogram, but there would be no gangways or rows, so that if a 100 or 50 acre lot were carved out of a township it could be done as shown by the dotted lines in the diagram; but if carved out of a seignory it would either be portentously long and thin, and

[1] *Accounts and Papers* (1826–7), vol. v, *Third Report on Emigration*, p. 413; comp. Bouchette, *British Dominions in North America*, vol. i, p. 183.

[2] Bouchette's 'usual' township = 10 miles × 10 miles = 11 ranges of 28 200 acre lots + roads.—*British Dominions in North America*, vol. i, p. 183 note.

would abut on its old front; or it would be formed by a vertical split, and would have no road in front, and if the ground sloped would drain into the next holding. The former alternative was usually preferred, and French-Canadian colonization was by strips, and British-Canadian colonization was by blocks. Thus like many townships, Sorel seignory was almost a square, and almost 36 square miles, but its normal holdings before the conquest were 101 acres, or 192 yards in front by 2,560 yards in depth, and its deeper depths were uncultivated. These awkward oblongs always denoted the seignory, and were never seen in townships, where back seats sold almost as well as front seats. Both seignories and townships were rectangles, or as near thereto as their river-front, if any, permitted. A writer once traced 'l'esprit rectangulaire' of modern Socialism to the French Revolution; but the rectangles of Sorel were derived from those at Beauport (1635), and those of the townships were derived from New England via Nova Scotia, Governor G. Lawrence having introduced them into Nova Scotia at the instance of his agent at Boston, and for the benefit of immigrants from New England[1] (1759).

being used to create yeomen with local self-government,

In Canada the township was primarily an agricultural unit designed for planting yeomen in 200 acre lots; but if the scale were enlarged a hundredfold the diagram would be equally applicable to a building estate and would serve as the plan of a town. Towns, therefore, were often carved out of townships. Similarly, concessions, ranges, and sections were often utilized as parishes or smaller townships; and a township, if it were bought from government by one purchaser or group, could regulate its own roads, drains, and restrictive covenants.

and to cover the land completely;

Again, let townships be piled on townships, north, east, and west—in the same way as Euclid piles rectangles on rectangles in his second book—and the whole country would become as densely covered with townships as it was once

[1] Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*, vol. i, p. 220.

covered with timber. Seignories hardly ever fronted seignories; but in the eastern townships, townships stood behind and on the side of townships ten deep, and twenty to thirty wide, and fronted nothing but seignories, townships, or the frontier. Unlike seignories, townships aggregated into counties without leaving gaps.

and being apt to create speculators, and enterprising leaders of colonies,

Townships, too, stimulated wholesale purchases of quarter, half, or whole townships, and re-sales by the purchaser in lots. The purchases and re-sales were in fee-simple, subject to an obligation to repair roads and the like, because British-Americans eschewed any other form of tenure. Fealty, homage, reliefs, and fines were until 1854 incidents of seignorial tenure, even as they were sometimes incidents of socage tenure in England. But feudalism and everything that savoured of it was alien to American ideas; and commercialism and everything that seemed akin to it was overfavoured. Throughout America there was a brisk market for buying and selling land, and real-estate offices were as animated as a Stock Exchange. Land leases were disregarded much as Stock leases would be disregarded.

Land speculation was created by suddenly putting one hundred odd townships on the market, and then statesmanship blindly tried to control what it had created. Purchases were limited in size, and gifts were made as well as purchases. Gifts introduced some lazy absentees, and the limitation of size was a dead letter. In Quebec Province only 1,200 acres could be bought by one person; accordingly, if the township was 105 square miles, 40 men bought 1,200 acres each (= 75 square miles), and chose one of themselves as 'leader'; the leader explored and paid costs and fees, and each 'associate' assigned to him 1,000 out of his 1,200 acres as recompense; so that the leader acquired 63 square miles and the associates 12 square miles. This system became common form; and the one-man Company was the vogue. It was self-evident that its business was land-jobbing; and that this

colonial leaders being often Loyalists,

was the last sort of business that the Government intended to promote. What was not so self-evident was that some of the very best examples of internal colonization in British-America and in Nova Scotia had been furnished by precisely similar organizations. On the one hand, the leader and his associates might only be speculators, in which case they usually sold out quickly; on the other hand, the leader might be a real leader like the στράτηγός of an Athenian κληρουχία, and the associates might be heads of families who meant to live and die together like the *socii* of a Roman colony. On the one hand, Montreal merchants and Quebec ministers posed as leaders; on the other hand, G. Hyatt and W. B. Felton[1] made Sherbrooke (c. 1800); Andrew Ten Eyck made Dunham (1793); Colonel Henry Ruyter made Potton; Major Willard's son made Stukeley; and Colonel A. Cuyler and Colonel Well's heirs made Farnham; and all these men were 'leaders' or associates who acted as leaders, Cuyler, Ten Eyck, Ruyter, Wells, and Willard being American Loyalists.

and colonial followers being scarce and British,

But who followed the 'leader'? Townships appealed to American Loyalists, but most of them had settled or starved before the first Eastern township was designed. Many Loyalists had entered Canada by the Richelieu, some of whom lingered near the frontier, where a seigneur[2] sold them land discharged from its mediaeval incidents; while others lingered at St. John's, Chambly, and Sorel,[3] where the Government bought the seignory and laid out the present town of Sorel opposite Berthier (1785). Berthier was, and still is, a one-streeted town, and Sorel was from the first a square-shaped town like the towns in the townships. Nevertheless Sorel and the Richelieu were in the seignories, and for this reason many of their British occupants drifted

[1] *Report on the Archives of Canada*, by D. Brymner (1898), pp. xxvi, 27.

[2] Hon. Thomas Dunn, Seigneur of St. Armand.

[3] 757 in 1784. Brymner, *op. cit.*, 1891, p. 17.

away to the townships.[1] Most of the pioneers of the frontier came, axe and compass in hand, from New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York State, direct to their new homes; amongst whom many were sons or relatives of Loyalists, and most were loyal as well as brave men; but a very few, in Hereford and elsewhere, were refugees from justice. After the frontier was well settled, and for the most part settled well, by British-Americans, the intermediate region began to be filled, but not with Loyalists; for the Eastern townships were too late to catch the Loyalist flood when the tide was coming in. Land was often given to Canadian militiamen as rewards; thus at Drummondville, on the St. Francis, Colonel Heriot built mills (1816) and a village for veterans in the war (1812–14); but other similar gifts elsewhere met with doubtful success and dotted the map with blanks.[2] Nor did the mainstream of European immigrants fertilize the townships. From 1817 to 1822 Deputy-Quartermaster-General Colonel Cockburn resided at Quebec, and guided civilian as well as military immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland by different channels to different destinations; but the immigrants, as a rule, used Quebec Province as a conduit-pipe to Ontario, and an expert[3] said that from 1815 to 1821 only 100 or 150 'British' immigrants (from the United Kingdom) had settled in the Province. But there were exceptions. Colonel Cockburn settled some British colonists at Drummondville; in 1830 large numbers of Irishmen were sent into the townships to make roads and to stay; and it was by these exceptions from the general rule, by this residue of the westward-moving multitude, that the townships were peopled. There was never any British rush to the townships, although a Land Company was proposed (1823–4)[4] in order to organize

[1] e.g. Colonel Ruyter, and Cuyler.
[2] Aston, Granby, Milton, Nelson, &c.
[3] Assembly of Lower Canada, *Report on Crown Lands*, 1821–5, Rep. II, p. 18.
[4] Brymner, *op. cit.* (1898), pp. xxvi, xxvii.

such a rush. Had this proposal (1823–4) been effectual Quebec Province would have been enriched by a Land Company at the same time as Ontario, New Brunswick, New South Wales, and Tasmania; but it involved the partial purchase of Clergy and Crown Reserves, and was therefore rejected. Under the scheme which took effect the British American Land Company was incorporated in London in 1833–4, and bought 1,324 square miles of Crown Reserves and lands for £120,000, one half of which was applicable to the land, and the other half of which was payable to the vendor. Though belated, the Land Company added new elements. The Highland settlers of Compton County[1] were first introduced by the Company in 1841. The purchase of the Crown Reserves involved also a new departure.

until the Reserves were swept away,

The imaginary township which is described on page 137 contained 105 square miles, of which 75 square miles were bought by the imaginary purchasers. They could not buy more because 15 square miles were set apart as Crown Reserves and 15 square miles as Clergy Reserves. The perfection of the township system was that township dovetailed into township, and complete continuity was secured in the matter of clearances and roads, not merely along one front as in the seignories, but along every front, and in and out of and between the holdings. But here two-seventh parts of every township were cynically left vacant; two-sevenths of the feast were wasted in sacrifice to a distant Crown and an alien Church; the symmetry of colonizing by townships was marred by two fatal flaws; the only visible superiority of the new over the old style was deliberately neutralized; and last, but not least, the French Canadians were estranged. No Clergy Reserves were sold until 1827, and few before 1840, when the local Government obtained some control over the Clergy and Crown Reserves, or their

[1] Lingwick (1841), Winslow (1852), Hampden, and Scottstown were later.

proceeds; but the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves were used for Protestant purposes—that is to say, for unpopular purposes, until 1854, when they were secularized. In 1821–5 questions were sent round to most of the parishes in Quebec Province asking if the young men went to the townships. The answers were unanimous; not a single French-Canadian went near them. When at the end of the Twenties the uncultivated Clergy patches, and during the Thirties the uncultivated Crown patches, began to melt away, the French-Canadians began to appear; and when during the Forties the uncultivated Crown-and-Clergy patches disappeared like snow in spring, floods of French-Canadians poured into the townships. Before 1830 or thereabouts it seemed as though the old wine of old France were destined to be kept in an old bottle, and the new British wine in a new bottle; but now the two wines mixed in the new bottle, and every substantial difference between bottle and bottle was removed by the legislation which converted seignories into the similitude of modern estates in fee simple (1854). The central block of the Eastern Townships is now British-French, the British being the first comers and having the first choice of place; but it must begin west, not of the River Du Loup, but of Beauce County, and south of Bagot County; for these two counties are almost wholly French-Canadian. The eastern wing, too, is as French-Canadian as the oldest adjoining seignories, with which they should now be classed. The western wing, although it contains some converted seignories, resembles the central block more or less. It is significant that the only counties which show a majority of British origin are the frontier counties of Stanstead, Brome, Missisquoi, and Huntingdon, and that an English origin prevails in all these counties except Huntingdon, which is Irish. Next to the frontier, the townships and towns of the St. Francis are most British; and in this case, too, British means English. No townships or towns on the

and French-Canadians, and others arrived, and the eastern townships became British-French.

Nicolet show a British majority, and here nine or ten conform to the following type 'St. Valère de Bulstrode', Bulstrode being the original township—'Population = 1,192; population of French origin = 1,192' (1901). Where the British element is in the ascendant in Quebec Province it is never exclusive, as the French element often is. Where, amongst the British elements, the English element is in the ascendant, the immigration was probably early and through the United States. Irish ascendancy indicates immigration from Ireland, not before 1815, and usually in or after 1830. Scotch Highlanders, as a rule, came still later, under the auspices of the Land Company. All, or practically all, the Canadians of French origin came from France before 1759, if not before 1672.

The Eastern Townships stimulated or created town life south of the St. Lawrence,

The Eastern Townships put new life into that part of Quebec Province which lies south of the St. Lawrence. Formerly the south side was an insignificant addition to the north side, where the power and might of French Canada was concentrated. Between 1825 and the close of the century the southern half excelled the northern half in numbers; but the race was always close, and before 1901 the phenomenal increase of Montreal tilted the balance, so that the northern half again excels the southern half. In French times there were no towns in the southern half, which is now honeycombed with small-sized towns, not only in the Eastern Townships but elsewhere. Of the towns in the townships, Sherbrooke (pop. 11,765), Granby (pop. 3,773), Magog (pop. 3,516), Kingsville (pop. 3,256), and Farnham (pop. 6,280) are the largest. Kingsville is the principal centre of the recent unique asbestos mines at Thetford, on the watershed between the Bécancour and St. Francis, and is the only mineral centre of any importance in the Province. The rest are industrial country towns, Sherbrooke being financial centre. The largest towns elsewhere fall into three classes. The first class consists of towns adjoining and resembling

the township towns like Valleyfield (pop. 11,055[1]), St. Hyacinthe (pop. 9,210[1]), and St. John's (pop. 4,030, or, including Iberville, its *vis-à-vis* town, 5,542[1]). The second class is Rivière du Loup (pop. 4,569[1]) in the far east; and the third class of towns are *vis-à-vis* the northern capitals and resemble them. Thus the two (pop. 11,999[1]) or five (pop. 17,098[1]) more or less confluent towns known as Levis are opposite Quebec; and Longueuil, St. Lambert, and Laprairie (pop. 5,648[1]), which will doubtless coalesce some day, are opposite Montreal. It used to be said that Bécancour (pop. 1,992[1]) was the *vis-à-vis* of Three Rivers, and Sorel (pop. 7,057[1]) of Berthier (pop. 1,364[1]); but of these towns Bécancour and Berthier have become stars of inferior magnitude, and Sorel and Three Rivers alone survive. Yet, all these districts, compared with districts of equal size and prosperity elsewhere, are essentially rural.

and affected nationalities south of the St. Lawrence.

The state of the country as a whole may be read in the following table, where the reader will note that two, and not more than two, nationalities—French-Canadian and British—account for all but all the population; and that the eastern counties, though exclusively French, rival the mixed counties of the Eastern Townships in numbers and apparent prosperity; and he will note how impossible it is to classify the counties of the extreme west, Beauharnais and the two counties between the St. Lawrence and Ottawa being almost as French as the ten counties of the extreme east, Chateauguay being a little more mixed than the Township or Gulf-Coast counties, and Huntingdon being *sui generis* and forming a class by itself; and he will note how the maelstrom of Montreal is sucking in people from the neighbouring counties; how steadily and surely French-Canadians are gaining ground upon British Canadians, and how insignificant immigration from the United States and France has been.

[1] Population, 1901.

South of St. Lawrence or Ottawa Rivers.	1901 *Pop.* × 1000			*Percentage in* 1901 *of*		*Ditto in* 1881 *of*		*Immigrants in* 1901 × 1000[3]		*Ditto in* 1881 *from*	
	Total	*Fr.or.*[1]	*Br.or.*[2]	*Fr.or.*	*Br.or.*	*Fr.or.*	*Br.or.*	*France.*	*U. S.*	*France*	*U. S.*
10 Eastern[4] counties.	247	238	8·5	96·3	3·4	95	4	·1	2	·1	·3
9 Township counties.[5]	221·6	152	66	68·7	29·7	58	39	·2	9	·26	9
12 adjacent Seignorial[6,7] Counties.	176·6	170	5·3	96·4	3	95	3·9	·2	3	·15	3
Beauharnais County.	21·7	19·5	2	90	10	90	9	·03	·3	·01	·1
Chateauguay County.[7,8]	15·7	9·4	4·5	60	28	69	30	·02	·14	·01	·08
Huntingdon County.[7,11]	14	5	8	36	57	30	64	·007	·6	·006	·7
2 counties S. of Ottawa[7,9] N. of St. Lawrence.	20·4	18·6	1·6	91	8	89	10	·004	·08	·01	·04
Total of above	717	612	96	85·5	13·4	81·4	16·6	·56	15·1	·55	13·2
Add Gulf Coast[10]	55	40	14	72	26	70	29	·06	·1	·05	·05
Total of above[12]	772	652	110	84·5	14·3	81·4	16·7	·6	15·2	·6	13·3

[1] French origin includes French Canadians, French immigrants, &c. [2] British origin includes British-Americans, &c. [3] or Population in Q. P. 'born in France' or 'U. S.'. [4] Rimouski to Lotbinière and Beauce included. [5] Megantic, Drummond, Richmond, Compton, Sherbrooke, Stanstead, Shefford, Brome, Missisquoi. [6] Nicolet, Yamaska, Bagot, Richelieu, St. Hyacinthe, Rouville, Iberville, St. Jean, Verchères, Chambly, Laprairie, Napierville. [7] Being near Montreal its population decreased 1891–1901. [8] 1,675 Indians (1901): Indians not included (1881). [9] Soulanges and Vaudreuil. [10] Gaspé Bonaventure and Magdalens. [11] 760 Indians (1901); 461 Indians (1881). [12] Unorganized Territories are omitted.

North of St. Lawrence and Ottawa.	*Pop.* × 1000 *in* 1901			*Percentage in* 1901 *of*		*Ditto in* 1881 *of*		*Immigrant in* 1901 × 1000 [3] *from*		*Ditto in* 1881 *from*	
	Total.	*Fr.or.*[1]	*Br.or.*[2]	*Fr.or.*	*Br.or.*	*Fr.or.*	*Br.or.*	*France.*	*U. S.*	*France.*	*U. S.*
3 eastern counties [4]	79·9	75·4	2·3	94·3	2·8	93·6	3·7	·07	·4	·02	·02
Quebec to Portneuf [5]	118.1	101	15	86	13	79·4	19·8	·16	·7	·17	·3
Montreal Island.[6]	351·3	222·5	116·5	63	33	62	35	1·5	9·3	1	4
Two mountains to Champlain [7]	207·4	198·8	7	96	3·3	95	4	·3	2	·08	·9
Argenteuil	16·4	7·4	8·8	45	54	40	59	·1	·1	·006	·08
Total of above	773·1	605	149·6	78·2	19·3	79	19	2·1	12·3	1·3	5·3
Add Ottawa, &c. and western counties.[8]	101·5	64	33·4	63	33	51	44	·3	·8	·3	·5
Total	874·6	669	183	76	21	76	21·9	2·4	13·3	1·6	5·8

[1] Fr. origin includes French Canadians, French immigrants, &c. [2] Br. origin includes British Americans or Population in the Province 'born in France' or 'in U. S.'. [4] Chicoutimi (St. Jean Lake, &c.), Charlevoix (Murray Bay, &c.), Montmorenci (Seignory of Beaupré, &c.). [5] Quebec city, Quebec county (includes Seignory of Beauport, &c.), Portneuf. [6] Montreal city, Hochelaga, Maisonneuve, J. Cartier. [7] Two mountains,[9] Terrebonne, Laval, Montcalm,[9] L'Assomption,[9] Joliette, Berthier,[9] Maskinongé,[9] St. Maurice, Three Rivers, Champlain. [8] Argenteuil,[9] Ottawa, Pontiac, Labelle. [9] Being near Montreal the population decreased either in 1881–91, or 1891–1901.

The northern towns are the old towns with new inhabitants, and significance,

We must now cross the St. Lawrence, remembering, however, that rivers are the bonds, not the barriers of history, even although this river has not yet been bridged and is still a physical barrier below Montreal; and here at first blush the conditions seem similar. Quebec Province is still the arena of two national forces which compete but do not conflict with one another; furthest east and (if we except the addendum) furthest west are most alike in the results, and the French-Canadians increase more rapidly than the British. As a maelstrom Montreal is more potent than any other town or centre. A British-French element exists, but it exists in connexion with the capitals. The capitals, moreover, are towns quite unlike any towns on the right bank of the St. Lawrence.

Quebec,

Quebec (pop. 68,840[1]), the capital of the Province, is not merely great in its memories, but for more than a quarter of a century it has been more populous than all Canada was in 1763. A railway bridge is now being constructed from Cap Rouge (Cartier's and Roberval's Cap Rouge) to the mouth of the Chaudière, which will stimulate its American commerce; and the National Trans-continental Railway, for which the bridge is being built, will bring it into direct contact with prairie-land. Hitherto it has never had any intercourse with the far west except through Three Rivers or Montreal; now, for the first time in history, it will be able to combine the functions of an emporium of European and west-Canadian trade. The halo of its romantic past will hover round the prosaic crown of a prosperous future.

Three Rivers,

Three Rivers (pop. 10,739[1]) is squeezed between its big neighbours, but derives an importance of its own from the St. Maurice River, which penetrates a district with much lumber and some bog-iron.

and Montreal;

Montreal (pop. 346,927[1])[2] is the commercial capital of Canada, but not even the capital of its Province. Politically and com-

[1] Population, 1901.

[2] I include Hochelaga, Maisonneuve, and the urban part of J. Cartier.

mercially it stands to Quebec as New York does to Albany. Albany, the capital of New York State, is a little larger than Quebec; Montreal and Quebec are a little further apart than Albany and New York. Geographically the parallel must be reversed. Albany, which lies upstream at the junction of the Hudson and Mohawk, is to New York as Montreal is to Quebec. Finance and railways centre in Montreal. It faces two ways: towards New York and Boston, and towards Quebec and England. The deepening of the channel between Quebec and Montreal, and the invention of steamers, makes Montreal a port which communicates with Europe direct as well as with the far west; and it has a double function, just as Quebec will have a double function when the new railway is built. As a port for European goods, Quebec is wicket-keep, Montreal long-stop—if the metaphor may be allowed. Its British inhabitants are mostly English and are one-third of the whole, which is rather more than the present ratio in the township counties. The Scotchmen of Montreal, though fewest, are foremost.

where too a British fringe was once created.

In old times an Indian fringe was hung round the skirts of Quebec and Montreal, and along the right bank of the St. Lawrence, to guard against the Iroquois. It is now frayed and faded; nor did it ever serve the purpose for which it was meant. Since the conquest a British fringe was hung round the edge of the French-Canadian seignories on the right bank, partly in order to subdue the wilderness, and partly also in order to ward off American intruders. If this last intention actuated the authors of the policy, the intention has long since been outgrown; and the British fringe, while maintaining its British character, has promoted the arts of peace more than the arts of war. It has brought enhanced prosperity, partly through its own independent efforts, partly owing to the international intercourse which it has fostered. A British (mostly Irish) fringe was also hung round Quebec, by R. Coughtrie at Valcartier (1816), by E. Hale behind

Portneuf (1821), by A. and J. Duchesnay at Lac Beauport (1821) and Faussembault (1820)—that is to say, a few miles from the river in what was then wilderness; and there it may still be seen. The war which these British outposts were put there to wage, was a war only with the wilderness, and they waged it with success.

Argenteuil County, behind the Isle de Jesus and Montreal Island, was the scene of a similar experiment, undertaken at the same date with Irishmen, Scotchmen, and Englishmen (in this order). The fruits of this experiment may be seen in the curious phenomenon that the British are in a majority in Argenteuil and nowhere else on the north bank. Argenteuil is the Huntingdon of the north bank. Further, the railway, which now runs direct from Grenville to Joliette almost on the edge of the limestone belt, was anticipated by roads, all of which were the after-effects of this British colony. A third result was the opening up of the left bank of the entire Ottawa to Canadian enterprise. When the British fringe at the back of Montreal had grown, Quebec Province grew a tail of its own behind the British fringe, and mixed the ingredients of the tail in the same proportion as that which obtains in Montreal Island or in Chateauguay to-day; but the whole history of these settlements along the left bank of the Ottawa is inextricably intertwined with the history of the settlements on the other side of the river, which settlements belong to Ontario. It will accordingly be postponed to the succeeding chapter.

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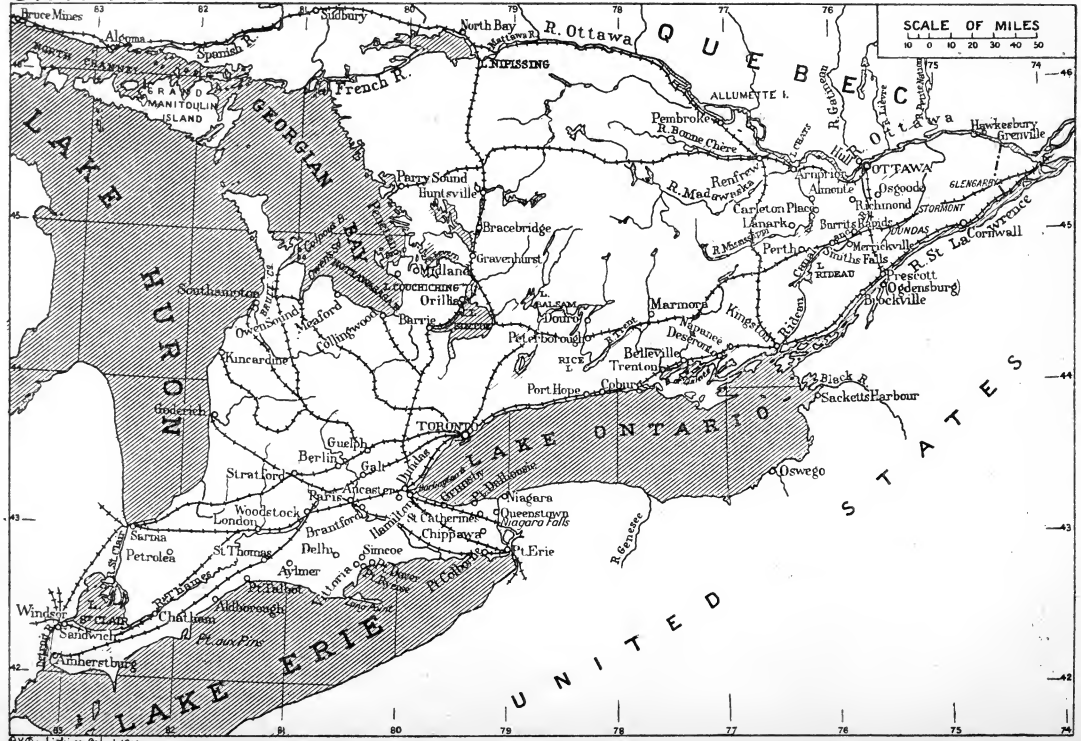
ONTARIO


SCALE OF MILES
10 0 10 20 30 40 50
Bruce Mines
Algoma
Sudbury
North Bay
R. Ottawa
QUEBEC
NIPISSING
French R.
Spanish R.
MANITOULIN ISLAND
GEORGIAN BAY
LAKE HURON
Parry Sound
Huntsville
Bracebridge
Gravenhurst
Midland
Orillia
Barrie
Southampton
Owen Sound
Meaford
Collingwood
Kincardine
Goderich
Pembroke
R. Bonne Chere
ALLUMETTE I.
Renfrew
R. Madawaska
Arnprior
Almonte
Carleton Place
Lanark
Perth
OTTAWA
Hull
Aylmer
Osgoode
Richmond
Barrhaven
Merrickville
Smiths Falls
Hawkesbury
Grenville
GLENGARRY
STORMONT
DUNDAS
Cornwall
St Lawrence
Prescott
Ogdensburg
Brockville
RIDEAU
Marmora
Madoc
Kingston
Napanee
Belleville
Trenton
Peterborough
Port Hope
Cobourg
Black R.
Sackets Harbor
TORONTO
LAKE ONTARIO
Oswego
Guelph
Berlin
Galt
Stratford
Preston
Paris
Woodstock
London
Dundas
Hamilton
Niagara
St Catharines
Queenston
Niagara Falls
Chippawa
Ft Erie
Brantford
Delhi
Simcoe
Tillsonburg
Port Dover
Port Rowan
Port Burwell
St Thomas
Petrolea
Sarnia
St Clair
Windsor
Detroit
Sandwich
Amherstburg
Chatham
Aldborough
Pt aux Pins
LAKE ERIE
Welland
Welland Canal
R. Grand
R. Genesee
UNITED STATES
R. Credit
R. Humber
R. Don
R. Trent
R. Gatineau
R. Lievre
R. Petite Nation
R. Rideau
R. Mississippi
R. Clyde
R. Indian
R. Black
R. Canard
R. Thames
R. Sydenham
R. Saugeen
R. Maitland
R. Nottawasaga
Nottawasaga Bay
Georgian Bay
Lake Simcoe
Lake Couchiching
Lake Muskoka
Lake Rosseau
Lake Joseph
Lake of Bays
Lake Nipissing
Lake Temagami
Lake Timiskaming
Lake Abitibi
Lake Nipigon
Lake Wabigoon
Lake of the Woods
Rainy R.
Rainy Lake
Kaministiquia R.
Thunder Bay
Port Arthur
Fort William
Nipigon
Long Lac
Ogoki R.
Albany R.
Moose R.
Abitibi R.
Mattagami R.
Matachewan
Kenogami R.
Pic R.
Michipicoten
Michipicoten R.
Missinaibi R.
Mississagi R.
Spanish R.
Wanapitei R.
Sturgeon R.
Sturgeon L.
Lake Nipissing
French R.
Mattawa R.
Mattawa
Temiskaming
Haileybury
New Liskeard
Cobalt
Kirkland Lake
Timmins
Porcupine
Cochrane
Iroquois Falls
Kapuskasing
Hearst
Longlac
Geraldton
Beardmore
Nakina
Armstrong
Ignace
Dryden
Sioux Lookout
Kenora
Rat Portage
Fort Frances
Atikokan
Port Arthur
Fort William
Thunder Bay
Nipigon
Red Rock
Schreiber
Terrace Bay
Marathon
Manitouwadge
White River
Wawa
Michipicoten
Sault Ste Marie
Soo Canal
Soo Locks
Algoma
Spanish
Blind River
Elliot Lake
Massey
Espanola
Little Current
Manitoulin Island
Gore Bay
Killarney
Parry Sound
Pointe au Baril
Byng Inlet
Key Harbour
Honey Harbour
Port Severn
Waubaushene
Midland
Penetanguishene
Victoria Harbour
Port McNicoll
Port Elgin
Kincardine
Southampton
Wiarton
Owen Sound
Meaford
Thornbury
Collingwood
Stayner
Creemore
Barrie
Orillia
Gravenhurst
Bracebridge
Huntsville
Parry Sound
Midland
Penetanguishene
Orillia
Barrie
Collingwood
Meaford
Owen Sound
Southampton
Goderich
Kincardine
Port Elgin
Wiarton
Lion's Head
Tobermory
Cape Hurd
Flowerpot I.
Bruce Peninsula
Georgian Bay
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Simcoe
Lake Couchiching
Lake Muskoka
Lake Rosseau
Lake Joseph
Lake of Bays
Lake Nipissing
Lake Temagami
Lake Timiskaming
Lake Abitibi
Lake Nipigon
Lake Wabigoon
Lake of the Woods
Rainy Lake
Rainy R.

CHAPTER VII

ONTARIO. ONE NATION ON THREE ST. LAWRENCE VALLEYS AND BEYOND

Ontario extends beyond three St. Lawrence valleys,

At Montreal the St. Lawrence valley splits into the Ottawa, and the St. Lawrence valleys; at the Bay of Quinté, into the Trent valley and the valley of the inland seas; but all three valleys re-unite in Georgian Bay, which is part of the inland sea named Lake Huron. The first task of Ontarians was to fill and unite these valleys and river-banks and shore-lines. Afterwards Ontario overflowed and its inhabitants reached the Upper St. Lawrence and its sea, and the Upper Ottawa, and then passed beyond the watershed of the St. Lawrence to the Lake of the Woods, and beyond the watershed of the Ottawa to Lake Abitibi;—the Lake of the Woods, Lake Abitibi, and the hill-tops north of Lake Superior belonging to Hudson Bay.

and the part between the three valleys is Old Ontario.

Ontario without its overflow—that is to say, the great triangle between the meeting-place of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa, which serves as apex, the mouth of Georgian Bay, and the angle formed by Lake Erie and Detroit River—is sometimes called Old Ontario; and the overflow of Ontario is sometimes called New Ontario. Old Ontario was built up first, and the first stone which the builders laid was nearest the apex; and it was literally as well as metaphorically the corner-stone of Ontario. It was only not in the innermost niche of the apex, because that niche was already filled by representatives, and formed part, of Quebec Province.

(1) *The east of Old Ontario (excluding the niche which*

The successive provinces of Canada lie in a line, and the preface of one province is the appendix to the last. It was so in Tantramar Marsh and Bay Châleurs; and it is so in the tiny triangle of seignories (Quebec Province) which fit

belongs to Quebec) wedge-like into the notch formed by the junction of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence, and which seem to the outward eye a part of Ontario, but are in essence Canadian-French. Conversely, Chateauguay, Huntingdon, and Argenteuil, on the borderland between Quebec Province and Ontario, though physically a part of Quebec Province, are a spiritual anticipation of Ontario; and Scotchmen, though rare elsewhere in Quebec Province, are numerous here. As soon as we cross the line from Quebec Province to Ontario, the whole atmosphere is Highland Scotch, and always has been Highland Scotch ever since 1781, when the history of Ontario began. The cause must be sought on the other side of the Atlantic.

was peopled along the St. Lawrence by Highland soldiers (like the Maritime Provinces); In the Forties of the eighteenth century Pitt turned wild Highlanders into soldiers; and the Highland soldiers who served in America were, like the colonial soldiers, rewarded with grants of land. In the Sixties New York State (United States)[1], Murray Bay, and Mount Murray (Quebec Province), and in the Seventies Prince Edward Island received Roman Catholic soldier-settlers who had been born and bred in Glengarry, Lochaber, Fraser, and other clan-lands in the neighbourhood of the Caledonian canal[2], and had fought against France in the New World. The floodgates were unlocked, and in the Seventies civilian Highlanders, both Presbyterian and Roman Catholic, began to pour into Pictou (Nova Scotia) and Prince Edward Island. In the Eighties the Highland soldier-settlers in New York State, after fighting against the revolted colonists, were re-transplanted into nine or ten townships which were marked out on the St. Lawrence, west of Quebec Province, 1781–4, between Cornwall and Brockville inclusively (1781–4)[3]. The

[1] Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, *Observations on the Highlands*, 1805, pp. 166 et seq.

[2] Colonel David Stewart, *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 1822, vol. ii, pp. 63–7: see map of clans, vol. i.

[3] W. Canniff, *History of the Settlement of Upper Canada*, 1869, p. 157: *Report on Canadian Archives*, by D. Brymner, 1891, pp. 1–18.

names of the townships are forgotten or thrown on one side like dismantled scaffolding for use elsewhere; but the names of the counties, and of the towns which were built by means of the scaffolding, tell their own tale. The easternmost of these counties was called Glengarry, the second Stormont, and the third Dundas; and the men who occupied the first two were priest-led Highland ex-soldiers, organized and rationed for three years by the English War Office. As in the Maritime Provinces, Gaelic priests attracted other Gaels from Scotland; so that they rose in a few years from 2,000 (1784) to '10,000 rapidly increasing' (1804).[1] These men were the foundation-stones of Ontario. Johnston's regiment, which was largely German and Protestant, occupied Dundas.[2]

other Loyalists came to Cornwall, Prescott, and Brockville;

These new counties soon possessed three towns, of which Cornwall (pop. 6,704[3]), and Prescott[1] (pop. 3,019[3]), were founded before 1798, and Brockville (pop. 8,940[3]) before 1807. At Prescott the first rapid below Lake Ontario begins, and at Cornwall a nine-mile rapid, which is called the Long Sault, and which is the worst rapid after Niagara, ends; so that both towns were resting and starting places for boatmen who were westward bound. Both towns were also waiting-rooms for the Loyalist refugees from New York State; for men went from Plattsburg (New York), through what was then called 'the Willsbury Wilderness', straight to Cornwall, and from the Mohawk (New York) down the Oswegatchie straight to Prescott. For the same reasons important towns grew up within the American border opposite Cornwall, Prescott, and (a little later) Brockville.

and other Loyalists settled at Kingston and west to the Bay of Quinté,

Above Brockville the Archaean system casts its shadow over the shore, and only ends a little below the limestone city of Kingston. Both Brockville and Kingston are so to speak in the sunshine beyond the cloud. There was, too, a halo of historic glamour around Kingston, for in old time

[1] Brymner, *op. cit.*, 1891, pp. 5, 37, 1892, p. xxii.
[2] J. Croil, *Dundas*, 1861, p. 129. [3] Population 1901.

Fort Frontenac was there, and thirty miles further on the Bay of Quinté there was a still earlier Sulpician Mission. Moreover, Prescott was only on a byway, while Kingston was on the highway used by the Iroquois and Loyalists as they went from the Mohawk to Canada. French, British, Provincial, and Indian armies have come and gone to and from the Mohawk, sometimes by Oswego, sometimes by Sackett's Harbour, and sometimes by a port between the two; but Kingston has nearly always been base, goal, or rendezvous. Accordingly a second series of townships was laid out by Major Holland or his deputies, beginning with Kingston and
1783–4, ending with the west end of the Bay of Quinté (1783–4); and these townships were immediately occupied with the help of the English War Office by disbanded Provincial regiments. The first batch sailed from New York to Sorel in seven King's ships and came on thence by boat; others came direct from the Mohawk. Between 1787 and 1790, when rations ceased to be supplied, there was stress and famine; then prosperity returned, and in 1795 for more than half the year a daily ship descended to Oswego with settlers bound for the new district.[1] In these townships Kingston dwarfed its companions. It was the chief port of Lake Ontario; a dockyard and barracks were begun there in 1789; it was naval capital when war threatened; and, above all, in early days it had a Government mill, which ground flour for all those who dwelt between Cornwall or Prescott on the east and Trenton on the west.[2] In those days power meant water-power; and the mulocrat was lord paramount. Lord Dorchester at first wished to make Kingston the capital of Ontario, and in later days Kingston (pop. 17,961 [3]) was for a short time capital of both Canadas (1840–5). West of Kingston, Napanee (pop. 3,143 [3]), Belleville (pop. 9,117 [3]), and Trenton (pop. 4,217[3]) also began as mill-seats.

[1] La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, 1795–7, ed. 1800, vol. i, p. 536.
[2] W. Canniff, *op. cit.*, pp. 202, 206. [3] Population 1901.

Meanwhile there were the first symptoms of a move northward and inland. In 1783 Lieutenant French went from Montreal up the Ottawa to the Rideau, and from the Rideau straight to Kingston, and thence by the St. Lawrence back to Montreal, in order to spy out the land; and he reported that the land was a land of promise everywhere, except along the narrow granite belt between Kingston and Brockville.[1] French's tour of inspection stimulated the settlers who came after him. In 1793 three American Loyalists named Burritt re-explored the Rideau, and settled soon afterwards at Burritt's Rapids; and another American, named Merrick, settled at Merrickville hard by in 1799. A rough track twenty miles long was made between Prescott and Merrickville, and only forty or fifty miles of lonely river separated Merrickville or Burritt's Rapids from the mouth of the Rideau close by what is now Ottawa.[2] It was thus that the Loyalists went towards the Ottawa, for they too dreamed of the conquest of all the woods between Lieutenant French's base-line and the apex where the Ottawa and St. Lawrence meet. Unaided they could not fulfil their dream. Their one achievement was to stretch a single continuous or almost continuous line of settlements along the St. Lawrence and its inland sea between the mouth of the Trent and the Ottawa.

and movement inland towards the Rideau began.

1793.

1799.

Meanwhile, 140 miles south-west of Kingston, the old-world fortress on the Niagara—with its haunting memories of La Salle—was garrisoned and became a focus to which Loyalists' families from the Mohawk gathered for refuge in 1776. The first-comers—'5 women and 31 children, and only one pair of shoes among them all'—were Bowmans, Secords, and others of the best blood of Ontario.[3] In 1782 there were seventeen families there; and in 1784 a provincial corps, called Butler's Rangers, was disbanded and planted

(2) *Loyalists went to Niagara.*

1776.

1782.

[1] Brymner, *op. cit.*, 1890, p. 67.

[2] J. L. Gourlay, *History of the Ottawa Valley*, 1896, pp. 10, 51, 150, 151.

[3] E. Ryerson, *Loyalists of America*, 1880, vol. ii, pp. 265–70.

there and rationed for awhile, and the left bank of the River Niagara, from Fort Erie on Lake Erie to Newark[1] on Lake Ontario, became as compact and populous as the townships on the St. Lawrence. Newark (pop. 1,258[2]), was capital of Ontario, until the Americans established themselves in overwhelming strength on the opposite bank half-a-mile away, making it as indefensible as Belgrade would be if Austria were hostile. Queenston, seven miles upstream, was the place where sailors hauled their boats ashore and trudged with boats on heads and packs on backs, past the Falls, to Chippawa, eight miles away, where boating—which seems as natural to Canadians as riding is to Tartars—recommenced. In 1798 the first coach that ever ran in Ontario ran from Chippawa to Queenston[3]; for the earliest coach-roads in Canada were always carrying-places past rapids. Niagara on the Falls (pop. 4,244[2]), which is the present capital of this district, lies between Queenston and Chippawa; but it only attained pre-eminence long afterwards through its railway, its bridge between Ontario and the States, and its attractions for tourists. Niagara-land was an early, populous, detached, and therefore dangerous colony. And it was also a centre of expansion; thus a Loyalist from New York State took Lundy's Farm, west of the Falls, and then a farm in Burlington Bay (1781); where in 1813 a subsequent settler named George Hamilton created a village by cutting up his farm into building-lots and giving his surname to what is now one of the leading towns of Ontario.[4] Robert Gourlay (1818) mentions Hamilton (pop. 52,634[2]); Mrs. Jameson refers to it as a wheat market (1838), but few other writers of that time even name it, although they all name Dundas (pop. 3,173[2]), which is now almost absorbed in Hamilton, or

and spread thence to Burlington Bay, 1781.

[1] Niagara on the Lake (Ontario). [2] Population 1901.

[3] Comp. G. Heriot, *Travels*, 1807, vol. i, p. 156.

[4] Sir John Bourinot in *Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Canada*, 1900, vol. vi, Sect. II, pp. 3, 17, &c.; J. H. Smith, *Historical Sketch of the Co. of Wentworth*, 1897.

Ancaster, three miles from Dundas, or both, as coming towns. Even the earliest travellers refer to millers on the creeks which fall into Lake Ontario between Newark and Hamilton; such as Twelve-Mile Creek or St. Catharine's (pop. 9,946 [1]), and Forty-Mile Creek or Grimsby (pop. 1,001 [1]). Thus De Rochefoucauld (1795) wrote: 'Forty-Mile Creek... before it empties itself into the lake, turns a grist-mill and two saw-mills which belong to a Mr. Green, a Loyalist of Jersey, who six or seven years ago settled in this part.[2]'

(3) *Long Point was a sub-colony from Niagara,*

The sub-settlements of Niagara crept creek by creek along the shores of Lake Ontario to Hamilton, but leapt to Long Point on Lake Erie; and for awhile it seemed as though Long Point was a third new colony as separate from Niagara as Niagara was from Kingston and its satellites. Military considerations suggested the origin of the new colony. In 1793 John Graves Simcoe, the first Governor of Upper Canada, selected Turkey Point or Port Dover (pop. 2,035 [1]) —in the Bay east of Long Point—as a naval arsenal for Lake Erie. But naval arsenals have never been of much account on this lake because it is very shallow, and is the only one of the great lakes of the St. Lawrence which freezes all over in winter, so that soldiers can march over it as though it were dry land. Nevertheless, Colonel Samuel Ryerse, a Loyalist re-emigrant from New Brunswick to Niagara, went thence to Port Ryerse, between Turkey Point and Port Dover, ascended a hill, said, 'Here I will be buried,' brought his family and relations thither (1795), built a mill, and lived 1795
and died there. Other re-emigrants from New Brunswick and Niagara followed in his wake, and the little group had its little capital in Vittoria, which was the Court-town of the surrounding districts until 1828.[3]

(4) *Amherstburg was a detached military colony.*

The garrison of the military posts at Amherstburg (pop. 2,222 [1]), or in later times Windsor (12,153 [1]), opposite Du

[1] Population 1901.
[2] *Travels*, 1795–7, trans. by Neuman, 1800, vol. i, pp. 460–3.
[3] E. Ryerson, *Loyalists of America*, 1880, vol. ii, pp. 232, &c.

Luth's and La Mothe's Detroit (United States), constituted a fourth detached centre of attraction to Loyalists of French as well as of British extraction, and also to disloyalists disguised as Loyalists. Some of these colonists concentrated in Sandwich (pop. 1,450 [1]) or elsewhere under the protection of the garrison, while others scattered; and amongst the latter one went up the River Thames and established a mill 'of curious construction' at what Simcoe (1793) called Chatham (pop. 9,068 [1]). In 1803 the small military coterie was reinforced or re-enfeebled by some Highland settlers whom Lord Selkirk shipped from Scotland and planted at Baldoon on Lake St. Clair. Nearly half the settlers died in the first year, and the remnant were saved from famine by the soldiers of Amherstburg and then went elsewhere.[2]

These four colonies were fringed by Indians.

Each detached centre almost formed a colony by itself and was fringed by friendly Indians, Iroquois on Grand River from source to mouth, Delawares,[3] at Moraviantown on the Thames, Hurons on Lake St. Clair, Mississaguas[3] on Credit and Trent Rivers, and Iroquois again in a small reserve on Quinté Bay; on each and all of whom tight control was kept; indeed, the Iroquois, Hurons, and Delawares were as much exiles and victims of civil war as the Loyalists themselves. Nevertheless, the settlements at Niagara, Long Point, and Sandwich were separate and remote from one another, and still more separate and remote from the settlements near Kingston and on the St. Lawrence. The Loyalist movement did not by itself create Ontario, but only created four living units which afterwards grew into Ontario. How were these units unified? Partly by far-seeing rulers, partly by isolated adventurers, and partly by co-operative schemes, which had their head and source in England.

In order to unite these colonies

Simcoe's specific for unifying the units was fourfold: soldiers, towns, a through road, and a central capital.

[1] Population 1901.

[2] Brymner, *op. cit.*, 1886, pp. xv, xvi.

[3] Algonquins.

Soldiers would create towns: for 'towns', he said, 'will spring up where troops are stationed'[1]; soldiers, too, would build the road on which the towns would grow, and he used the Queen's Rangers, of which he was colonel, as road-makers. The road was to go from Amherstburg by Chatham (pop. 9,068[2]), London (pop. 37,981[2]), Woodstock (pop. 8,833[2]), Dundas (pop. 3,173[2]), and Toronto, all of which were as yet mere names but would some day be towns, to Kingston and Montreal; with branch-roads leading from Dundas (or Ancaster), east to Niagara, and south to the intended arsenal near Long Point. Simcoe's plan was realized, but not by the instruments of his choice; thus the road from Kingston to Dundas was finished by an American contractor (1798–1801), and the road from Dundas to the Thames by the earliest Loyalist settlers. The roads were built and coaches soon ran between Montreal and Kingston (1808), Kingston and Toronto (1817), Toronto and Niagara (1816), and Ancaster and Detroit River (1828).[3] The new through road shadowed and shortened the waterway from Montreal to Detroit, leaving the old capital at Niagara on one side. A new capital was required. Simcoe fixed on an inland capital at London, and if this plan had been executed, the peninsula between Niagara, Lake Erie, and Lake Huron might have solidified earlier than it did; and it probably would have solidified into a separate Province or foreign state. But Lord Dorchester, who had at first chosen Kingston, now chose Toronto as the capital; Toronto (pop. 208,040[2]) being midway between his first choice and Simcoe's first choice, and midway between the beginning and end of the new through road.

Simcoe planned a through road,

and a new capital.

When Bouchette surveyed the new capital one wigwam was the only sign of human habitation, and that was one

Toronto became the capital, 1793,

[1] Brymner, *op. cit.*, 1891, Part II, p. 39. [2] Population 1901.
[3] W. Canniff, *History of Upper Canada, &c.*, 1869, p. 595; H. Scadding, *Toronto of Old*, 1873, p. 49; comp. J. C. Hopkins, *Canada Encyclopaedia*, vol. ii, p. 224.

more sign than London had at the same date (1793). After Toronto had been the capital for four years it boasted of twelve houses (1798). Its value was not material so much as spiritual, and it served as a guarantee—so far as Government could give a guarantee that, come what may, the Peninsula of Ontario and the Ontario of Kingston should not be allowed to fall asunder.

and the starting point of a new road towards Georgian Bay;

Simcoe, who had no fancy for mere river-and-lake-side capitals, immediately found a new use for the new capital. Toronto was thirty-five miles by water north of Niagara portage, and thirty-five miles by land south of Lake Simcoe, which flows by Lake Couchiching and Matchedash River into Matschedash—that is to say, into Georgian Bay. Why should not Toronto become half-way house, not only between east and west, but between north and south? Why should it not become the one and only Canadian city of the cross-ways? Accordingly he set his soldiers to build Yonge Street to Lake Simcoe, laid out lots on each side of it, and opened it in 1796. Moreover, north of Lake Simcoe the River Matschedash has many rapids, to avoid which, sequels to Yonge Street were built from Lake Couchiching, and in later times from Barrie (pop. 5,949[1]) to Penetang (pop. 2,422[1]). The latter sequel was the best, and was built partly by Dr. Dunlop during the war (1812–14), and partly by the North-west Company, which recognized at an early date the utility of this new-old route as a highway of trade[2]. Penetang, the goal to which both sequels led, was selected as naval arsenal and dépôt by Simcoe (1793), and was used as such during the War (1812–14) and for many years after 1829.[3] Simcoe's revival of these disused routes was a stroke of genius to which Toronto owed its subsequent commercial prosperity.

[1] Population 1901.

Brymner, *op. cit.*, 1890, pp. 53–5; comp. H. Scadding, *Toronto of Old*, p. 389.

[3] Mrs. Jameson, *Winter Studies, &c., in Canada*, vol. iii, pp. 338 et seq.; Sir R. Bonnycastle, *Canadas in* 1841, vol. i, ch. xvi.

and new kinds of settlers were attracted towards the road, 1794–9,

And it had other results. Yonge Street was soon lined by farmers, some of whom were re-emigrants from Nova Scotia and the West Indies, and in later times from Lord Selkirk's Red River Colony, but most of the early settlers belonged to very different categories. In 1794 a large consignment of Germans was drafted by an adventurer named William Berczy into Genesee valley (New York State), where inadequate preparations were made for their reception.[1] Sixty families wandered on to Niagara in Canada, and Simcoe re-planted them inland east of Yonge Street in a township of one hundred square miles named Markham, where they still remain. A little further north, close by the watershed, many French Royalists settled in 1799, but few remained.[2] Beyond them again were Pennsylvanian Quakers, then Dutch Mennonites, then an American sect called the Children of Peace. Luck threw these odds and ends in Simcoe's way at the very nick of time. Meanwhile there were sporadic settlers at Dundas, Ancaster, Port Hope (before 1798) (pop. 4,188[3]), and elsewhere on the great through road; in 1816 there were three houses at Cobourg[4] (pop. 4,239[3]), and in 1819 Whitby (pop. 2,110[3]) was being founded by J. Scadding. A fifth detached colony, between the Kingston settlements and the settlements on the peninsula, was already in being. But before this date other forces had come into play and were beginning to blend the five colonies into that single finished colony, which Loyalist and Highland soldiers, strong rulers, stray settlers, and luck were vainly conspiring to create.

and towards the neighbourhood of Toronto, which resembled a fifth colony.

Then (1) individual enterprises began, and Wright ascended the Ottawa, 1796–8,

The first of these forces was that pure spirit of indomitable enterprise which began to pervade the New World, and to drive men out into the lonely wilderness, towards the close of the eighteenth century. Philemon Wright, of Woburn

[1] Brymner, *op. cit.*, 1891, pp. xvii; G. Heriot, *Travels*, pp. 137, 141.
[2] H. Scadding, *Toronto of Old*, p. 469; C. P. Lucas, *History of Canada*, 1763–1812, pp. 230–2.
[3] Population 1901. [4] W. Canniff, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

near Boston (Massachusetts), fought against England in the War of Independence, then traded between Boston and Montreal, then (1796–8) took three trips up the Ottawa to the falls of the Chaudière, 130 miles beyond Montreal and 70 miles beyond the Long Sault of the Ottawa, where Daulac and his heroic twenty-one fought the Canadian Thermopylae. Next year Wright persuaded some comrades to join his prospecting trip, and they and he cut little trees and leaned them against larger trees, climbed as high as they could, and agreed that the sea of trees beneath and around them boded well (1799). So in February 1800 he and they, with families, servants, horses, oxen, and £10,000, sledged from Boston to Montreal, by the St. Francis, over three hundred miles or so of snow; and thence to the new home nearly one hundred miles beyond the nearest habitation on the Ottawa. The last seventy miles, from Grenville to Hull —if modern names may be used—were the loneliest but easiest, for they were on smooth river-ice, there being no rapids between the Long Sault and the falls of the Chaudière. Indians met Wright, ate a white dog raw, and dubbed him the White Chief of the Ottawa. Soon after his arrival the White Chief turned Lumber King, for Canada was beginning to export lumber to Europe. Philemon Wright was pioneer, patriarch, and founder, and whenever he returned to Hull (pop. 13,993[1]), as his settlement was named, bells rang. His sons and his sons' sons peopled the whole valley of the Gatineau; Hull radiated colonists not only to Chelsea, Wakefield, and Masham on the Gatineau, but to Buckingham on the east and Eardley on the west; moreover, Papineau, father and son, visited Wright in 1808, and soon afterwards began to people the mouth of the Petite Nation River halfway between Hull and the Long Sault. All these places are north of the Ottawa and in Quebec Province. But what Wright did, fired the torch of energy in other brave men, and

and founded Hull, 1800,

[1] Population 1901.

near where Ottawa now stands, that is to say on the south side of the river, the first white settlers began to appear.[1]

others following his example on the Ottawa as far as Arnprior;

In 1810–11 Ira Honeywell of Prescott, son of a Loyalist mother and an anti-Loyalist father, having married a Loyalist lady, drove off with his bride from Prescott past Merrickville, where there was a house, and thence through unpeopled wastes to the south bank of the Ottawa, where he settled close by the left bank of the Rideau. Lumberers, named Billings, settled opposite him on the right bank of the Rideau a little later. Thus Ottawa began to exist, but not as a town. Sundry chances scattered other germs along the Ottawa. Seventy miles east of the Rideau, Mears's famous mills on an island at Hawkesbury (Quebec Province), began to attract labourers and lumberers (1805 et seq.); and Alexander MacMillan, of Lochaber, Scotland, brought Scotch Glengarries to join their kith and kin and co-religionists in Glengarry (Ontario Province) (c. 1804), bought Grenville (Quebec Province), and Lochaber (Quebec Province) on the Ottawa for himself and his associates, turned 'Leader', and lived and lumbered with his family opposite Hawkesbury at Grenville[2] (1810 et seq.) Some Ottawans went westward from the Rideau along the Ottawa; Mr. Charles Sherriff, formerly of Leith, then of Port Hope, went further west, and lumbered at the mouth of a tributary of the Ottawa called the Mississippi, by Chats Rapids (1819); the MacNab, fresh from the Highlands, in kilt, sporran, and tartan, preceded by a piper playing the Hacks o' Cromdale, and followed by members of his clan, went furthest, and settled west of the mouth of another tributary of the Ottawa called the Madawaska, and south of Lake Chats, as the expansion of the Ottawa above the Chats Rapids is called. And for many years to come the MacNab passed to and fro with a retinue

[1] John Mactaggart, *Three years in Canada*, 1829; Bertha Harris, *Life of Philemon Wright*, 1903; J. L. Gourlay, *Hist. of the Ottawa Valley*, 1896.

[2] C. Thomas, *Hist. of the Country of Argenteuil and Prescott*, 1896.

of new Highland recruits; and the piper always marched and piped in front of him. Where he settled, Arnprior (pop. 4,152[1]) now flourishes.

and Colonel Talbot colonized Port Talbot.

Americans sometimes wondered why, when they were going out alone into the wilds, cultured Europeans wrote fine prose and poetry about the splendour of solitude, and stayed at home with the madding crowd. Colonel Thomas Talbot was not one of these Europeans; he was a man who did. Born at Malahide, a descendant of the Tyrconnels, he served under Simcoe in Ontario, and then sold his commission, and settled in the township of Dunwich on Lake Erie, midway between Long Point and Pointe aux Pins, at Port Talbot (1803), where he built the inevitable mill. At first he was his own star and almost alone; then he was authorized to receive two hundred acres in an adjoining township for every family settled on fifty acres of his own. Yet he claimed, and for a long time obtained, his reward, although his settlers were planted in adjoining townships along the line of a projected road, which was to run parallel to the coast about eight miles inland from Delhi (pop. 823[1]), which is behind Long Point, by Aylmer (pop. 2,204[1]) and St. Thomas (pop. 11,485[1]), to a point west of Aldborough. This road was called Talbot Street, and his settlers were obliged by the terms of their grants to make it. But the road did not make the settlers, and in 1809 only twelve families had gathered round him, mostly from Pennsylvania or Long Point; and then war undid everything. When peace returned his time came. Europe for the first time set to work to cure pauperism by collective emigration, and the self-help of a few choice spirits was supplemented by social efforts on a large scale from beyond the Ocean. Until then, Simcoe and the adventurers had been drawing large cheques on future possibilities.

(2) *Systematic emigration*

The systematic emigration of weavers, Lowlanders, Celtic and Ulster Irishmen, Englishmen, and ex-soldiers was the

[1] Population 1901.

second great force which filled Ontario. This force only began to work when the Napoleonic wars were over. In 1815 the British Government issued a paper proclamation offering free passage, rations, tools, and land to intending settlers in Canada[1]; and the proclamation, though not backed by cash, was widely circulated in the Lowlands, where emigration societies were formed. In 1826, 4,653 Renfrewshiremen, and about 8,500 Lanarkshiremen, asked aid to emigrate; and all, or almost all, were handloom-weavers, who occupied their leisure on farm-work.[2] They were starving minute by minute at home. 'I remember,' said the son of an emigrant weaver, 'often waking in the middle of the night and seeing my father working still at the loom as if he would never give over. . . . I remember I was always hungry then—always.'[3] British agony was Canada's opportunity, and the dying men went to live again in a land where 'almost every farmer . . . has a loom in his house, and their wives and daughters not only spin the yarn but weave the cloth'.[4] Celtic Roman Catholic Ireland became the scene of two experiments conducted by Peter Robinson with funds provided by the British Parliament. In both experiments the emigrants came from County Cork. In the first experiment 568 persons were with difficulty persuaded to take part (1823). In 1825, 50,000 wished to go, and envied the good fortune of the 2,024 who were allowed to go.[5] No Celtic Roman Catholic Irishmen ever emigrated to the New World except to Newfoundland before the War of Independence, and after the war hardly any went to Canada until Robinson created in them the taste to go. Some of the emigration societies which now spread from end to end of the old country were friendly

began, of handloom weavers, Celtic Irishmen, &c.;

under Peter Robinson,

and others,

[1] R. Gourlay, *Statistical Account*, vol. i, p. 528.
[2] *Report II of House of Commons Committee on Emigration*, 1826–7, vol. v, pp. 19, 51, 52.
[3] Mrs. Jameson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 163.
[4] John Macgregor, *British America*, vol. ii, p. 182.
[5] *Report I of House of Commons Committee on Emigration*, 1826, vol. iv, pp. 286 et seq., 330; *Report III*, 1826–7, p. 344.

self-helping societies, others owed their existence to the benevolent landlord; the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire were the principal homes of the former, and of the latter the Petworth Emigration Committee (1832) may be taken as a type. Petworth is a tiny village in Sussex, on the borders of Surrey, and was owned by Lord Egremont, who gave his tenants a free passage to Canada, and provided cheap passages for any other intending emigrants. He employed a Village Committee to sort the applicants before starting, and skilled agents to locate them when they arrived; and in 1832 commenced operations by sending out two ships'-full to Canada.

of ex-soldiers,

Ex-soldier emigrants were numerous, but they were no new feature. Hitherto, however, they had had Provincial experience or were Gaels. Now some of them came direct from all parts of the United Kingdom into the primeval forest, where they not unnaturally proved less deft than their American brethren-in-arms; for 'the Americans . . . are our masters in these matters', and 'No people can wield the hatchet as well as they'.[1] Nevertheless, many of these despised ex-soldiers were skilled sappers, miners, and engineers, many proved apt pupils, and even the most useless as a rule drew pensions, or had commuted pensions, and brought useful coin into districts where money had never yet passed. About this time hosts of half-pay naval officers appeared from end to end of Ontario—and lived by its river-banks and lake-shores as though they were seas; and they too brought coin, and not only coin but sea-craft and a sense of order, into a province whose habitable parts were one-third liquid and two-thirds destitute of law. Said Captain Andrew Wilson, R.N.: 'He had body and soul to look after; he had the county of Bathurst to govern; the Perth lawyers to regulate; the roads to lay out; and more to do than all Downing Street';[2] and many other naval officers did quite

and of half-pay officers.

[1] Basil Hall, *Travels*, vol. i, p. 322; J. Mactaggart, *Three years in Canada*, vol. ii, p. 295.

[2] Mactaggart, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 272.

as much, although no others thought quite so much of what they did, as Captain Andrew Wilson, R.N., thought of what he did.

Individualism was chiefly American, social energy was chiefly British, and the third force which directed the stream of immigrants hither and thither was wielded by the American, Canadian, and British Governments alike. It may be summed up in the one word—Canals. A great canal was being made between the Hudson River and Lake Erie by the Americans (1818–25), who almost persuaded themselves and their rivals, that traffic from the West would leave the St. Lawrence for the Hudson. The Canadians responded by canals, not from watershed to watershed, but from smooth water to smooth water on their great river. The first small Canadian canals of this kind had been made in the early days of the English régime on the St. Lawrence (1779–83), and at Sault St. Marie (1797)[1], but now a line of canals began to be constructed past every rapid between Montreal and Lake Ontario. Of these canals the Lachine Canal, which is immediately above Montreal and holds the key both of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence, was made by the Government of Lower Canada (1821–5); canals on the St. Lawrence above Lachine were made by local effort, and the Welland Canal between Lakes Ontario and Erie was made by private companies (1824–9). The Welland Canal made Port Dalhousie (pop. 1,125[2]), St. Catharine (pop. 9,946[2]), and Port Colborne (pop. 1,253[2]) into towns; and as at Niagara, a few miles east, the inland town derived most benefit. It was thus that Canada was saved from the commercial ruin which Canadian pessimists and American optimists foretold. Canal fever infected the British Government, which regarded the matter from a military and naval point of view, and built

(3) *Canals were made,*

e.g. the Lachine,

the Welland,

the Long Sault and Rideau;

[1] Brymner, *Report for* 1886, pp. xxi, xxix; 1889, p. xxxvii; comp. J. C. Hopkins, *Canada Encyclopaedia* (1898–1901), vol. iii, pp. 326 et seq.

[2] Population 1901.

canals at the rapids of Carillon and the Long Sault on the Ottawa between Lachine and Hull, and up the Rideau, across the watershed, and down the Cataraqui between Ottawa and Kingston (1827–31), at the Imperial cost. Its object was to provide a way between Montreal, which is the last ocean port, and Kingston, which is the first fresh-sea port of Canada, by which stores and ships of light burden might penetrate inland out of range of American guns in case of war. Safety was its object, not trade. The route followed was not unlike that of Lieutenant French in 1783; and the scheme was often mooted, though it was never perfected until the vulnerable canals of commerce between the inland seas and Montreal were more or less complete. The completion of the St. Lawrence Canals was the response by Canada to the United States, and the Ottawa and Rideau Canals were the British postscript to the Canadian response.

and military and other colonies were posted by military authorities

In order to defend the Rideau Canal three military colonies were founded in its neighbourhood—one at Richmond, on a western tributary of the Rideau; a second at Lanark, on the Upper Mississippi; and the third at Perth, on the upper Rideau near Lanark (1816–20). But in the events that happened citizens assisted soldiers, and the civilian overshadowed the military element in these colonies from the very first.

at Perth, 1815,

Deputy-Quartermaster-General Colonel Cockburn left Prescott in 1815, and after 'passing through the woods, for not a stick had been cut', chose Perth, which was occupied by veterans and Scotchmen in 1816, and became the depôt whence stores were issued gratis for a while to civilian as well as to military colonists. The way to Perth lay from the St. Lawrence; and Perth, though inland, grew quickly into a minor capital (pop. 3,588 [1]).[2]

Richmond, 1818,

Richmond, which was reached from where Ottawa is now,

[1] Population 1901.

[2] *Accounts and Papers*, 1828 (vol. xxi); Colonel Cockburn, *Report on Emigration*, p. 11.

was occupied by officers and soldiers of the 99th and 100th Regiment in 1818, and was almost exclusively military and European.

At Lanark Colonel Cockburn or Captain Marshall planted some 3,000 immigrants, chiefly from Lanarkshire, 'under particular instructions from H. M. Government,' in 1820. They enjoyed the same terms and privileges as ex-soldiers, some of whom seem to have settled amongst them. Scotchmen attracted Scotchmen, and other Scotchmen settled at the same time at Beckwith (1818) and Ramsay (1821) on the Mississippi, and Ramsay was the hive from which Scotchmen swarmed and flew north of Lake Chats to Bristol and Clarendon.[1] In 1831 and 1842 writers described the MacNab colony on the south and the Clarendon colony on the north of Lake Chats, much as Pindar wrote of the Pillars of Hercules, as the verge of this solid inhabitable world, beyond which only phantoms and shades of men flitted fitfully. And it was at Lake Chats that limestone ended and gneiss began. So, too, the colonies on the Mississippi, a few miles west of the Rideau, occupied the debatable land between gneiss and limestone, and have now blossomed into the prosperous towns of Arnprior (pop. 4,152[2]), where the MacNab piped, of Carleton Place (pop. 4,059[2]), and Almonte (pop. 3,023[2]), while Smith's Falls (pop. 5,155[2]), and Merrickville (pop. 1,024[2]) on the Rideau are also on the debatable land. Geology went hand in hand with strategy, in determining the new positions.

Lanark, 1820, and elsewhere;

The three primary inland settlements in this district—Richmond, Lanark, and Perth—were primarily military; and their avowed object was 'to establish a communication with Upper Canada distinct from that of the River St. Lawrence'.[3] They were organized and subsidized by

for the purposes of the Rideau canal;

[1] J. L. Gourlay, *History of the Ottawa Valley*, 1896, p. 21.
[2] Population 1901.
[3] *Accounts and Papers*, 1826 (vol. iv), *Report I of House of Commons Committee on Emigration*, Question 1497.

the War Office until 1822, and the first crop consisted of armed men, planted, nursed, and nurtured by the War Office. At an early period Scotchmen were admitted side by side with the soldiers, and they too came in under the same auspices, and as additions to and expansions of the original Thebean design.

and Irishmen, weavers, Glengarries,

Then four new elements were introduced. (1) In 1823 Peter Robinson's wild Irishmen were sown broadcast along the west flank of the Rideau, between Perth and the mouth of the Mississippi. They were paid for by the British Parliament, not by the War Office. (2) On the Long Sault of the Ottawa, weavers, exported by a Glasgow Emigration Society, settled at Grenville in 1819 (pop. 495[1]), opposite Hawkesbury (pop. 4,150[1]). (3) In 1827 a Glengarry captain of militia went inland from Prescott and settled on the east flank of the Rideau at Osgoode. Strayed cattle from the north led to the discovery that there was a new town called Bytown on the north of him, and Bytown thenceforth became his market.[2] (4) Bytown—now called Ottawa (pop. 59,928[3]) —became a town after Colonel By made it the headquarters of the Rideau Canal Works which he directed (1827–31). It stands on a bold bluff fronting the lumber-town of Hull, and is itself a lumber-town as well as the capital of the Dominion. For the latter purpose it is well fitted, because it commands the alternative or war route from Quebec to Upper Ontario; because the indistinguishable timber of both Provinces drifts past it; because the first union between the two Provinces took shape here in the form of Union Bridge between Bytown and Hull (1826–7); and finally, because Ottawa owed its existence to the Imperial initiative, reconciling and directing the efforts of both Provinces to a common end. To Colonel By the first beginnings of the city of Ottawa are due, and when the canal was finished 'there

Colonel By, founder of Ottawa,

[1] Population 1901. [2] J. L. Gourlay, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 119.
[3] Population 1901, including New Edinburgh.

was an influx of discharged labourers that scattered over and settled in the intermediate country between the Ottawa, St. Lawrence, Rideau, and Mississippi.[1] The War Office, the State, and the man, militarism, philanthropy, and adventure, had done their work; Colonel By ended what Lieutenant French began; and the building of a canal added a crown to a process which, under many disguises, had been essentially a process of colonization. Lower Ontario was peopled from end to end. The cup was filling before the canal was built. It now began to run over the brim, and helped to swell the human tide, which was already overspreading the region between Lower Ontario and the Ontario of Toronto and of the sea-girt peninsula beyond.

and Colonel By's canal-diggers settled between the Ottawa and St. Lawrence.

West of the Bay of Quinté on Lake Ontario, Cobourg became the starting-point of a new departure in which individual enterprise and systematic subsidized emigration played equally important parts. In 1816 James Buchanan, the British Consul at New York, forwarded at the cost of Government some Protestant Ulstermen from New York to Ontario, and they were settled in 'County Cavan' near Rice Lake, which is an expansion of that tortuous many-named river the Trent, and lies twelve miles north of Cobourg.[2] Some miners and Scotchmen seem to have found their own way to the Lakes (alias the Trent) further north in or before 1820.[3] In 1822 a lonely English gentleman wandered with wife and children from Cobourg, by Rice Lake up the Ottonabee (alias the Trent) to Scott's Plains, where there was 'a tumbling down grist and saw mill'. He built a house three miles beyond, in Douro, boiled sap one hundred yards from his house, and 'so close were the trees that I had my dinner carried to me, thinking it too far off to return myself'. Ague, poverty, and despair were

Peterborough and the Trent settlements were chiefly due to cause (2);

[1] J. L. Gourlay, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[2] *Report I of House of Commons Committee on Emigration*, 1826, p. 169. Comp. Mrs. S. Moodie (Strickland), *Roughing it in the Bush*, 1852.

[3] Basil Hall, *Travels*, vol. i, pp. 293–4, 311 ('Smyth Town').

driving him away, when Peter Robinson swept down upon the district with 2,024 wild Irishmen (1825), and a Government mill was built at Scott's Plains, which was thenceforth re-named Peterborough (pop. 11,239[1]), not because it is seventy-six miles from its capital, but in order to commemorate the founder's Christian name.[2] State-aided experiments saved the situation. The magic wand waved; a second minor inland capital arose out of the depths of the forest; a new compact block of Settlements touched those behind the Bay of Quinté on the east, and almost touched Lake Simcoe on the west; and only on the north of the River Trent and its lakes the old Archaean edge barred progress.

and the Lake Simcoe settlements to expansion from Toronto and other causes;

Meanwhile Lake Simcoe was peopled from Toronto. Highlanders fresh from the war (1812–14) were given land at the north end of Yonge Street, near where Lord Selkirk's waifs and strays arrived; and limestone was quarried by Talbot River, which 'almost reaches Balsam Lake' (alias the Trent). Before 1841 all the Lake shores were lined with 'half-pay naval and other officers', and the sequels to Yonge Street with old soldiers and negroes, who did not stay. Barrie (pop. 5,949[3]) was a 'flourishing village where not ten years ago there was not a single house'; Coldwater River had a State mill; Penetang attracted settlers, although the mouth of Nottawasaga River (near Collingwood), which, like Penetang, had been a naval base, was deserted; and only Nottawasaga Bay remained 'forest never ending and impenetrable', although thinkers prophesied a great future for Owen Sound and Colpoys Bay.[4]

and these new settlements fused Middle and Lower Ontario.

Except for Nottawasaga Bay and the Archaean district on the north, civilization overspread the whole land between

[1] Population 1901.
[2] Basil Hall, *Travels*, vol. i, pp. 307–323.
[3] Population 1901, including Allandale.
[4] Sir R. Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in* 1841, vol. i, p. 285; vol. ii, pp. 8, 9, 28, 29; Mrs. Jameson, *Winter Studies in Canada*, vol. iii, p. 350.

Toronto and the resuscitated route from Toronto to Georgian Bay on the west, Lake Ontario on the south, and the old waterway—along the Trent or the lakes represented by the Trent—on the north. Middle Ontario, or the Ontario between Toronto and Kingston, was reclaimed; the east of Middle Ontario touched the west of Lower Ontario, and both Middle and Lower Ontario were not merely river-banks, lake-shores, or streets, but solid bodies between the river-courses and lakes which had suggested the new streets and settlements, and had from time immemorial controlled the destiny of Ontario.

The Peninsula of Ontario was fused

South-west of Middle Ontario lies Upper Ontario, or the Peninsula between Credit River at the west end of Lake Ontario, Niagara River, Lake Erie, Lake Huron, and the rivers and lakes between the two last-named lakes. The progress of the Peninsula towards unity with itself and with Middle Ontario is associated with the names of Brant (the Mohawk), Thomas Talbot, John Galt, and Dr. Dunlop.

by Mohawks who encouraged individual enterprises,

The Mohawks, who had hitherto divided Niagara and Hamilton from the more westerly settlements, began now to sell parts of their reserves on Grand River, directly or indirectly, to white colonists; and in 1835 towns already existed at Brantford (pop. 16,619[1]), Paris (pop. 3,229[1]), Galt (pop. 7,866[1]), and Berlin (pop. 9,747[1]). Galt was founded by a Dumfriesman (1816); Paris was so called because plaster-of-Paris was quarried there by a speculative American settler; and Berlin became, and still is, the most German centre in the older provinces. It originated, like Markham, from the Germans of New York State, and soon became a rendezvous for Mennonites. In 1835 it had its German newspaper, and it is still thoroughly German, although a German may pass many days there without once hearing any language spoken except English.[2] These new settlements united Niagara-land

[1] Population 1901.

[2] Patrick Shirreff, *Tour through North America* (1835), chap. xviii; Mrs. Jameson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 101 et seq.

and Hamilton with Long Point, and with the colony, which Colonel Thomas Talbot was before 1816 vainly trying to found somewhere near Port Talbot on Lake Erie.

by systematic immigration towards the Talbot settlement, under Colonel Talbot,

After 1816 settlers came pouring into Talbot's lands without any effort on his part, and his visionary settlements and streets became living realities. The original Talbot Street was a straight line seventy miles long, neither on Lake Erie nor on the River Thames, but between and parallel with both, and proved a link in the colonial chain of first-rate importance. The road was (1835)—and it and its continuations between Windsor and Simcoe (160 miles) are still—the best in the Province; and it was connected at an early date by cross-roads with Simcoe's trunk-road between Dundas and Sandwich. Amongst early settlers on or near Talbot Street and its cross-roads, Highlanders—some of whom were forwarded by James Buchanan from New York, while others were flotsam and jetsam from Earl Selkirk's ruined colony in the far west (1817),—and Protestant Irishmen brought by Richard Talbot[1] from Tipperary (1818), may be noted. The Colonel preferred English applicants for land, misliked Highlanders, who thought him a land-grabber, hated Yankees and set his dogs on them, and abhorred teetotallers. His eccentricities added to the gaiety of nations, and his services were of sterling use to Ontario. A village was named St. Thomas (pop. 11,485[2]) after the Colonel, and became his capital, where anniversaries of this most unsaintly saint were celebrated by his admirers during his lifetime; and a document exists in which the 'settlement' is called 'St. Talbot' settlement.[3] Colonists poured in to the number of 70,000 (1816–51), reaching from Long Point to Pointe aux Pins, and his possessions would have been large indeed, if Government had admitted his interpretation of his grant, and, as it was, his

[1] No relation to Colonel Thomas Talbot.
[2] Population 1901.
[3] *Letters from Sussex Emigrants*, 1833, p. 14.

estate was valued at his death at £50,000. He had the credit of having fixed settlers throughout (what is now) Elgin County, the west end of Norfolk County, and the southern parts of Kent, Essex, and Middlesex Counties, without expense to Government, but not without profit to himself; and it is now usual to call all this district the Talbot Settlement—an expression which is not only geographically vague, but misleading, for it might imply that the Colonel introduced the settlers or owned the land on which they settled; either of which was very seldom the case.[1] He was something less than founder except in his own original township, and something more than agent except in London.

and towards London, under Richard Talbot and others,

In Middlesex County, Richard Talbot's settlers occupied the site then occupied by wolves (1818), but afterwards occupied by London (1827).[2] Then Scotchmen,[3] ex-soldiers, Lowland weavers (1820 et seq.), and Lord Egremont's Sussex and Surrey settlers[4] (1832–3), came into the neighbourhood, sometimes with and sometimes without the assistance of the State or of philanthropists. London City was laid out in 1826, and sold to settlers by Colonel Talbot as Government agent in 1827, and is sometimes included in and sometimes excluded from that elastic expression 'The Talbot Settlement'. In 1828 it became the judicial capital of the district, and soon served as the common capital of the Long Point, Talbot, and surrounding settlements, and it is now the fourth city in Ontario (pop. 37,981[5]). Only one thing was now wanting to complete the continuous civilization of the Peninsula, and this was done by the Canada Company, which was represented in Canada by John Galt and Dr. Dunlop.

[1] C. O. Ermatinger, *The Talbot Régime*, 1904; J. H. Coyne, *The Talbot Papers*, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1907, sect. 2, p. 15.

[2] E. A. Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas*, 1823.

[3] *Report III of House of Commons Committee on Emigration* (1827), pp. 405 et seq.

[4] Brymner, *op. cit.*, 1900, p. 432; *Letters from Sussex Emigrants*, 1833.

[5] Population 1901.

and under the Canada Company towards Guelph,

The Canada Company was incorporated in England in 1826, and was empowered to buy from the Crown, and re-sell to settlers, 1,875 square miles of various Crown Reserves and 1,562 square miles of Crown property between the Upper Thames and Grand River and Lake Huron, and one-third of its purchase-money was to be spent on improvements instead of being paid to the Crown. So Galt and Dunlop sallied forth on foot on April 23, 1827, from Galt to found a capital, lost their way in the forest, stumbled on an ex-Dutch ex-French ex-American shoe-maker, took him as guide, and arrived towards evening, drenched to the skin, at a shanty built by an Indian murderer. There the doctor stripped, and put on two blankets—one as toga and the other as kilt; and again they went forth, felled a tree, and christened the place with whisky 'Guelph City' (pop. 11,496[1]). A high place was reserved for Roman Catholic buildings out of gratitude to Bishop MacDonell of Glengarry, and the acropolis of Guelph is now crowned by the 'largest Roman Catholic Church in Canada', around which kindergarten schools and the like cling in clusters. The earliest settlers were British victims of a British Agricultural Association, which had exported them to Caracas in Venezuela, then called Columbia, whence revolution drove them to New York, whence James Buchanan forwarded them to Hamilton (1829). Capitalists too arrived, and before the year of the discovery of a capital had elapsed, the capital possessed 76 houses and many mills.[2] Most business men of to-day at Guelph bear Scotch names.

and Goderich on Lake Huron.

Having discovered a capital, Galt and Dunlop set out to discover a port for it on Lake Huron, which they did in the same year at Goderich, 75 miles away (pop. 4,158[1]); and a road was built between the capital and its port, which, like Talbot Street, took a line of its own and became a

[1] Population 1901.

[2] John Galt, *Autobiography*, 1833, vol. ii, pp. 56-63; Mactaggart, *Three Years in Canada*, vol. ii, p. 272.

nucleus for settlement.[1] At this date Goderich was the only port on Lake Huron, its nearest port south was Windsor and its nearest port north was Penetang; for Sarnia (pop. 8,176[2]) was only laid out in 1829, and, as we saw, the history of Nottawasaga Bay began in the Forties.

Ontario was united.

In the early Forties lines drawn between Goderich, Guelph, Toronto, Barrie, Penetang, Orillia, the Lakes of the Trent and Mississippi, and the mouths of the Madawaska and Ottawa, roughly marked the northern limits of Ontarian civilization. Above it was the wilderness; below it a series of mutually connected settlements. Then new forces came into play.

Then Railways cemented the Union, 1850 et seq.,

The Forties were the decade of great railway plans, and the Fifties were the decade of great railway completions. Trains ran from Montreal to Toronto in 1856, and in 1858 two railroads led from Toronto to Sarnia, one by Stratford (pop. 9,959[2]) and the other by Hamilton. Trains already ran from Hamilton to Niagara Falls and to Sandwich (1854), so that Ontario was knitted together from end to end in a way which more than realized Simcoe's wish. But British colonization was never content to run in one direction at a time; and Simcoe's cross-roads were now represented by two railroads, ending respectively at Goderich (pop. 4,158[2]), of which no one had heard before 1827, and at Collingwood (pop. 5,755[2]), which Sir R. Bonnycastle described as 'forest in the midst of unending impenetrable forest' (1842). The Toronto-Barrie[3]-Collingwood cross-line was begun in 1849 and finished in 1854; and the Goderich-Seaforth-Stratford-Fort Erie cross-line was opened in 1858. The lines to Midland (pop. 3,174[2]), Penetang (pop. 2,422[2]), Meaford (pop. 1,916[2]), Owen Sound (pop. 8,776[2]), Colpoys Bay (pop. 2,443[2]), Southampton (pop. 1,636[2]), and Kincardine (pop. 2,077[2]), were only later amplifications of these original and historic cross-lines.

extending it along Lake Huron and Georgian Bay.

[1] Patrick Shirreff, *Tour*, 1835, pp. 150 et seq.

[2] Population 1901.

[3] I include Allandale in Barrie.

This railway development doubled or trebled the great through waterway of the St. Lawrence, and Simcoe's great through roadway from Montreal to Windsor and Sarnia, and introduced variants of old short cuts between Lakes Erie, Ontario, and Huron, and Georgian Bay, these lakes being themselves parts of the St. Lawrence. The St. Lawrence was still the presiding genius of Ontarian development. These railways also doubled or trebled the importance not only of Windsor or Sarnia, but of Hamilton, Toronto, Stratford, Collingwood, Goderich, and London, all of which dominated the short cuts between the St. Lawrence under one of its names with the St. Lawrence under another of its names.

Minerals, &c., enriched out-lying districts, 1860 et seq.

In the Sixties petroleum was obtained in the neighbourhood of Petrolea (pop. 4,135[1]), ten to twenty miles from Sarnia,[2] and salt between Seaforth and Goderich and Southampton on Lake Huron. Natural gases were afterwards discovered in these neighbourhoods; and Southampton became fishing capital of Bruce County, which in 1848 was uninhabited, but is now almost as full of Scotch Highlanders and Islanders as Glengarry or Cape Breton Island itself. In the Sixties, too, a very little gold was worked at Madoc (pop. 1,157[1]), and a very little iron at Marmora (pop. 961[1]), just beyond the threshold of the Archaean region behind the Bay of Quinté, where the blast furnaces at Deseronto (pop. 3,527[1]), more than supplied the humble demands of the men of iron.

The Archaean district of Old Ontario was developed, 1868 et seq.

The Archaean region of what I have called Old Ontario was invaded by settlers after 1868, when free land-grants were offered to immigrants in Muskoka and Parry Sound Districts, which figure in the 1871 census for the first time. The southern gate-way of this region is 'the granite notch', a few miles north of the limestones of Orillia (pop. 4,907[1]),

[1] Population 1901.

[2] *Canada: Report of Geological Survey*, 1901, p. 160 A, &c., *Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Canada*, 1887, Sect. iv, p. 101.

and 107 miles north of Toronto; and its northern gateway is North Bay on Lake Nipissing, 170 miles further north. In 1859 there was 'no European town or village from Orillia to the north pole'.[2] In the Seventies the first railway passed north of the granite notch to Gravenhurst (pop. 2,146[1]); but many years were destined to elapse before it reached North Bay and linked Ontario and its capital to the Canadian Pacific Railway. At present this district is largely dedicated to sportsmen and tourists; though many a farmer finds good soil here and there on the shores of some lake, and Parry Sound is a considerable lumber-port. Gravenhurst (pop. 2,146[1]), Bracebridge (pop. 2,479[1]), and Huntsville (pop. 2,152[1]), on the avenue between the two gateways, are its tourist capitals. Memories of another kind linger round Lake Nipissing, which is on the old Indian water-route up the Ottawa, and down French River, to Georgian Bay. French River and the Archaean parts of Georgian Bay are the north-western borders of the Archaean region of Old Ontario; and the Ottawa lies near its north-eastern border, which is vague. While settlers came in by twos and threes through its southern gateway, lumberers were stealing towards it up a tributary of the Ottawa named the Bonnechère, north-west of the settlement of the MacNab; and lonely wayside farmers dotted the Musk Rat Portage of the Ottawa, which was still further north-west, as early as 1830. Before the advent of railways there were 850 settlers in Ontario near Lake Timiskaming and Lake Nipissing (1871), and rapid progress came with the railways, which led from Ottawa to Lake Nipissing and beyond in the Eighties (Canadian Pacific Railway), and which also led from Ottawa to Parry Sound (pop. 2,884[1]) in the Nineties (Grand Trunk Railway), thanks to which Renfrew (pop. 3,153[1]) on the Bonnechère, Pembroke (pop. 5,156[1]) on Musk Rat Portage, and North Bay (pop. 2,530[1]), on Lake Nipissing, became

[1] Population 1901. [2] J. G. Kohl, *Travels*, ed. 1861, vol. ii, p. 66.

important towns. A railway from Toronto to Sudbury was built in the first decade of this century as a companion to the railway which had been finished long ago from Toronto to North Bay. The pace was accelerated, and Muskoka, Parry Sound, and the railway lines through and round these lakelands, though populous compared to what they were, are desolate indeed, compared to the civilized districts of Old Ontario, around which we have been lingering so disproportionately long, as some may think.

In New Ontario development was due to railways, which were political or mineral;

As in Quebec, so in Ontario, the historical geographer must have two standard measures—one a foot-rule and the other a sextant. Parts of the country are crowded, and these parts were first entered in Old Quebec by members of some family, and in Old Ontario by some social group, inch by inch, district by district; so that their history is written on genealogical trees or tombstones or parochial registers. The chief difference between Old Quebec and Old Ontario was that civil war—or what the Greeks called στάσις—did for Ontario what religious fervour did for Quebec Province; and that while the founders of Quebec Province crept along the banks of a single river, spreading slowly up and down in one dimension from three points, the founders of Ontario overspread intervals as broad as long between two or three rivers and three or more fresh seas, like a multitude of distinct cloudlets which coalesced at last into a single complicated pattern, so that the entire earth was overcast. When that process was complete, when the outline was apparently filled in and intelligible, historical geography stops; for subsequent elaborations and permutations belong to history or some other kindred science. Thus far the student goes as with leaded cowl through some small dense country like a larger Scotland or a lesser England. The comparison is not unjust; for Old Ontario, excluding the Parry Sound and Muskoka District, is exactly the same size as Newfoundland and has only 40,000 square miles, some of which just trench

upon the Archaean region, and what is now called the Parry Sound and Muskoka District only adds another 5,000 square miles or so.

When we pass northward through the granite notch, we are in a country of big distances and little history, and our progress should be at astronomical, or at any rate railway speed. Indeed, we are in a country where, as a rule, railways preceded roads, and were the only events, or almost the only events, of history; and the railways were built, partly, it is true, for the purpose of colonizing the lean country through which they passed, but partly too for the sake of developing fat far-off countries, and partly for purely political purposes. The Parry Sound Railway opened up a new port for the far west, and the other railways to North Bay and Sudbury were feeders of the great through line of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

e.g. railways to Cobalt,

North Bay is the railway junction for several mineral districts; Cobalt, of which we have spoken, Sudbury, Bruce Mines, and Michipicoten, and of these Cobalt and Sudbury are already of world-wide significance.

the Sudbury

'The town of Sudbury' (pop. 2,027[1]) 'is a creation of the Canadian Pacific Railway' (1882),[2] being on the main line 80 miles west of North Bay, and the starting-point of a branch line 182 miles long to Sault St. Marie (pop. 7,169[1]). In 1883, Sudbury was the imaginary junction of two unbuilt railways, but it had real workmen and surveyors, and a real magistrate named Judge MacNaughton. One day the judge went for a walk, lost his way three miles from home, and when night came perched on a rocky knoll. A search party was formed, and found the judge, and noted that where he had been sitting there were things that looked like shining stones. These things were shown to an expert, who declared

[1] Population 1901.

[2] *Canada, Geol. Survey*, A. E. Barlow, *Report on Sudbury*, 1904, printed in vol. xiv, p. 46 H.

that there was copper in them, but not enough to pay, and that the brightest nest-egg was nickel, and therefore valueless.

In 1886 a Canadian Copper Company started work in the neighbourhood; in 1889 MacNaughton's Bethel became Murray Mine, and Sudbury began to experience the chances and changes to which copper industry is invariably exposed. Meanwhile bicycles, and the invention of nickel steel (1888), and the new treatment of nickel ores (1891) supplied a more secure foundation for its prosperity (1891 et seq.), and thanks to the railways from North Bay to Toronto, and from Sudbury to Sault St. Marie, help came from far, and Power and Refining Companies at Sault St. Marie and Hamilton (1899) assisted the nickel-miners of Sudbury, who now supply the world with most of the nickel which it more and more greedily consumes.

to Sault St. Marie,

Sault St. Marie (pop. 7,169[1]) was, until recent railways were built, as much isolated from the rest of Ontario as the Bosphorus was in classical times from Hellas. It was the strait gate to the innermost inland sea; and there have been missions, trade 'forts', or military forts there on and off since 1640, or long before similar posts occupied those other wicket-gates between its sister seas at Detroit and Niagara. In English times it gradually grew into a lumber and mill town; some copper-mining was done at Bruce Mines (1846–76), thirty-five miles to the east; and these mines were re-opened (1901) after the whole of the Sault-and-Sudbury branch line was opened. Sault St. Marie is now connected by a bridge with its *vis-à-vis* rival in Michigan (United States); and besides being a fresh seaport is one of the three land-channels by which Canadian produce passes to Chicago (United States); Sarnia (with its tunnel) and Windsor (with its steam-ferry) being the other two. Sault St. Marie has copper to west of it as well as copper to east of it; and Michipicoten Island, which is one hundred miles west of it,

[1] Population 1901.

has been of romantic interest, as the starting-point of a canoe-route up the Michipicoten and down the Missinaibi and Moose Rivers, to James Bay; a route which De Troyes's companions are said to have used on their return from raiding Moose Factory (1676–7),[1] but of late years its interest has been of a more material character. In 1901 the Helen Mine, near Michipicoten river-mouth, began to yield iron under the direction of a Power Company at Sault St. Marie; and immediately the production of iron in Ontario leapt up from 25,000 to 272,538 tons a year. Blast-furnaces have been, or are being, erected at Sault St. Marie and Collingwood, and a railway has been pushed on from Sault St. Marie to Michipicoten Harbour, which is no longer a mere distant isolated port upon an uninhabited coast. Two hundred miles beyond Michipicoten the River Nipigon flows into Lake Superior, and near its mouth is Fort Nipigon, which was the westernmost outpost of the French fur-traders, until Duluth went seventy miles further along the shore to Fort Kaministiquia, which was built in 1678 and rebuilt in 1717, and has since 1801 been represented by Fort William. Here, however, we enter upon a new arena; and the west shore of Lake Superior owes its inspiration to a changed country lying far away towards the west. Not that the country has not been changing somewhat ever since we passed into Lake Superior.

and along the shore of Lake Superior

Along the north coast of Lake Superior, except at Nipigon, we are very close to the watershed between James Bay and the Gulf of St. Lawrence: and the rose-red rocks are sometimes terraced or abrupt, or capped with flat levels or truncated cones in a way which is said to be rare in Archaean Canada. Moreover, there is hardly a tunnel in all Canada east of the Rockies except here, and the traveller is prepared for change of historic associations as well as of scenery when he arrives at Fort William and Port Arthur.

[1] Alexander Henry the elder, *Travels*, ed. by James Bain, 1901, pp. 231, 232.

to Fort William and Port Arthur,

Fort William (pop. 3,997[1]) and Port Arthur (pop. 3,214[1]) are twin towns, three miles apart, but rapidly growing together into a joint town (pop, 7,211[1]); and their gigantic elevators for storing the grains of the far west are, since 1885, the outward and visible reasons of their being. They do what Grand Portage once did for Canada.

which also lead to the prairies,

In former days Grand Portage, forty miles south, was a great gathering-place of the western and eastern servants of the North-West Fur Company of Montreal; for the servants who plied east of Grand Portage were usually distinct from those who plied west, and what was the goal of one was the starting-point of the other. Then Pigeon River, on which Grand Portage is situate, became the dividing line between Canada and the United States, so that part of the old route lay through a foreign land. Consequently Fort William was substituted for Grand Portage in 1801; and it was there that Lord Selkirk played the part of the avenging angel. In 1870 Lord Wolseley's base was a little north of Fort William, and he called it Prince Arthur's Landing, after the Duke of Connaught, and it is now called Port Arthur. At that time a Montreal firm was working silver-mines in its neighbourhood; and some years later Silver Islet on Thunder Bay, close by, yielded £700,000 worth of silver before it was in imminent danger of being submerged. Like Sault St. Marie and Michipicoten, Fort William and Port Arthur were and are to some extent mining centres. But they were and are the one and only fresh-sea port for the produce of the far west.

e.g. by Lord Wolseley's route, 1870.

In 1870 there were two ways from Fort William to the west; up-stream by the River Kaministiquia to Dog Lake, and up-stream by the Kaministiquia and its affluent the Matawin to Lake Shebandowan. The first lay more to the north, and the second more to the south. Each route led over the usual flat boggy watershed to Lac des Mille Lacs,

[1] Population 1901.

which contains the headquarters of most of the affluents of Rainy River.[1] But the Kaministiquia has falls which may be compared to a small Niagara, and the sixty miles' ascent from Lake Superior (602 feet *s. m.*) to the watershed (1,584 feet *s. m.*) was famous in Canada for its steepness. Therefore S. J. Dawson cut, or tried to cut, a portage road forty-eight miles long, which was the first road in these parts, and which went from Port Arthur direct to Shebandowan Lake. But this Yonge Street of the far west was incomplete in 1870, and Lord Wolseley used the second more than he used the third way. After Lac des Mille Lacs it might seem that the old scenes were left behind and new scenes were dawning. But for the next three hundred miles or so there is a reversion to the old type of Archaean Canada. The comparative diversity of contour and boldness and brilliancy of the North Shore of Lake Superior disappears, and stone, bog, knoll, and lake alternate with a monotony which is not excelled elsewhere.

As Lord Wolseley drifted down Sturgeon River, to Rainy Lake, down Rainy Lake to Rainy River, down Rainy River to Lake of the Woods, down Lake of the Woods to Winnipeg River, and down Winnipeg River to Lake Winnipeg; he passed Fort Frances on Rainy River, at the outlet of Rainy Lake—which was only a little less lonely than its predecessor Fort St. Pierre, which La Verendrye built close by, and Kenora on Winnipeg River, at the outlet of Lake of the Woods, which had 'three log houses roofed with bark and enclosed by a high wooden palisading'.[2]

After Lord Wolseley's expedition, the vulgar error that Lake Winnipeg and Lake Superior belong to the same water-system disappeared, but a new confusion arose. To which province—if any—did the wilderness west of Lake Superior *frontier was defined;*

After 1870, *the Ontarian*

[1] Or 'Lake of the Thousand Islands', see Sir John Franklin's *Map of the Expedition of* 1825, published 1828.

[2] Captain G. L. Huyshe, *Red River Expedition*, 1871, p. 170.

belong? Had Ontario a valid claim to the district, whose natural capitals were Fort William (pop. 7,211 [1]), Fort Frances (pop. 466 [1]), and Kenora (pop. 6,358 [1])? The question was set to rest by an order in Council (August 11, 1884) and an Act of the Imperial Parliament (1889), under which the western and northern frontiers of Ontario were defined (1) by the north-west angle of Lake of the Woods; (2) by a line thence due north to English River, which is an affluent of Winnipeg River; (3) and by English River and its watershed and Albany River as far as James Bay.[2] Civilization began in this district partly with Lord Wolseley's expedition against Riel, partly with Riel's second rebellion and defeat (1885), partly with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (1885), and partly with this final settlement of the provincial boundaries. It began more from military and political necessity than by choice. But such progress as has been attained is due to its unexpected wealth.

roads, settlers, and the C. P. Railway followed;

Dominion surveys were made in 1876, but settlers had already come since 1874 from the United States to fertile alluvial flats along Rainy River in the neighbourhood of Fort Frances. Then when the boundary question was settled, Ontario built an 80-mile road along Rainy River, between Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods; townships were marked off, free grants of land were offered, and settlers came, not from the south but the east. Then the Canadian Pacific Railway came (1885), and its way from Fort William lay first along the Dawson Road, towards, but not so far as Lake Shebandowan; then north, but not so far as Dog Lake; then along the north shore of Lac des Mille Lacs to the north shore of Lake of the Woods. Here Kenora (pop. 5,202 [1]) and its twin Keewatin (pop. 1,156 [1]), on the other side of the outlet of the Lake of the Woods, became railway towns, were united by a bridge, and became the principal mill seats not only for that

[1] Population 1901.

[2] John P. Macdonell, *Ontario Boundary Controversy*, with map, 1896.

district, but for the far west. East of Kenora we have seen twin town and *vis-à-vis* towns innumerable, and a few bridge-towns; but they have always cut Canada's line of life, which runs east and west, at right angles, and have been the outcome of emulation, imitation, or opposition. Kenora-Keewatin are the first but not the last looking-glass places, both of which the Canadian passes through rather than abides in; for in Canada movement east and west, west and east, rather than rest, is the first law of life. In 1894 a pioneer farm was made at Wabigoon on the Canadian Pacific Railway, 218 miles from Fort William and 218 miles from Winnipeg. Due south of Wabigoon there is the usual composite waterway up the Wabigoon and down the Manitou to Rainy Lake, near which copper and gold are worked. There is also copper and gold along the River Seine, which runs westward into the north of Rainy Lake, and nowadays the Canadian Northern Railway Line runs along the Dawson Road to Lake Shebandowan, and thence by the Seine River (instead of by the Sturgeon River by which Lord Wolseley went) to Rainy Lake and Fort Frances, and thence by the southern edge of the Lake of the Woods (United States) to Winnipeg. There is copper and gold too in the neighbourhood of Whitefish Bay, which is an eastern inlet of Lake of the Woods; so that uncivilized Ontario preserves some of its mineral as well as its lumbering, milling, and agricultural reputation to the last. Thus Kenora and Fort Frances, like Fort William, Michipicoten, and Sault St. Marie, owe prosperity to the bounty of nature as well as to the art of engineers; and both Nature and Art are putting human rubble into the interstices between railways, roads, and water-routes, wherever they do not coincide.

and then mineral discoveries and other railways.

In the preceding paragraphs special allusions are made to towns, because towns of a certain size and number are characteristic of Ontario as distinguished from Quebec Province. Toronto (pop. 208,040 [1]) is a lesser Montreal (pop.

Ontarian town-life is more vigorous than that of Quebec,

[1] Approximate population 1901.

350,000), Ottawa (pop. 60,000) a lesser Quebec (pop. 69,000), Kingston (pop. 18,000) a larger Lévis (pop. 17,000[1]), and Windsor (pop. 12,000) a lesser Hull (pop. 14,000); but there are no towns like Hamilton (pop. 53,000) and London (pop. 38,000) in Quebec Province; towns of 11,000 inhabitants are only represented by Sherbrooke and Valleyfield in Quebec Province, but by Windsor, Guelph, Peterborough, and St. Thomas, in Ontario; and towns of less than 11,000 and more than 8,000 inhabitants by Three Rivers and St. Hyacinthe in Quebec Province, but by Stratford, Berlin, Chatham, Woodstock, Brockville, Belleville, and Owen Sound in Ontario; and if we lower the standard to 2,500 inhabitants the proportionate number of towns in Quebec to towns in Ontario is five to twelve. Town life is more energetic in Ontario; although, like the elder province, Ontario is essentially agricultural, and the people are and have been yeomen from the beginning. At the very moment when English writers began to bewail vanished yeomen who never existed, Englishmen were deliberately founding colonies of yeomen for the first time in history.

and in Ontario there are three nationalities, British being paramount.

The towns which grew up in Ontario were the symptoms and results of agricultural success. Rural industries, as time went on, were able to spare more and more of their devotees to manufacturing industries, and the country created the towns. The same process has gone on in Quebec Province, but with less vigour. Perhaps Ontario is more fertile, and the peach-growing peninsula of Ontario is certainly more fertile than any part of Quebec Province; or perhaps the difference is due to the different nationalities of the provinces. By nationality ultimate European origin is meant. In this sense three nationalities are universally conspicuous in Ontario,—British, French, and German (including Dutch),—but British is vastly superior to its rivals, and the ratio of the rivals differs widely in different census districts.

[1] In its widest sense.

Grouped Census Districts	*No. of Districts.*	*Pop.* 1000 *in these Districts*		*Per cent. of Pop.* 1901.								
		1881	1901	*English*	*Scotch*	*Irish*	*British*	*French*	*German*	*Total*	*U.S. Immigrants per cent.*	
1. Glengarry, &c.	2	45	49	6	39	13	58	30	11	99	2	
2. South-west.	2	50	58	38	14	18	70	15	9	94	4	
3. Dundas, &c.	6	119	117	31	12	33	76	5	17	98	1	
4. Kingston, &c.	8	130	131	24	19	49	92	4	3	99	2	
5. Peterborough, London, &c.	23	455	445	39	19	34	92	1	4	97	2	
6. Toronto, &c.	19	455	574	39	21	29	89	2	6	97	1	
7. Lennox, Hamilton, &c.	18	442	430	36	18	22	76	2	20	98	2	
8. Berlin, &c.	2	43	53	14	14	7	35	·5	62	97	2	
9. Ottawa and East, &c.	4	104	153	5	11	24	50	45	3	98	3	
10. North-west.	4	80	173	17	16	30	63	17	7	87	2	
												Per Cent.
Totals	88	1923	2183	28	19	33	80	5	10	95	2	1881
				32	18	29	79	7	10	96		1901

1. Glengarry, Cornwall, Stormont. 2. Kent S., Essex.
3. Dundas, Prince Edward, Hastings E., W., Northumberland E.
4. Brockville, Grenville, Leeds N. and S., Lanark N. and S., Frontenac, Kingston.
5. Northumberland W., Peterborough E. and W., Durham E. and W., Victoria N. and S., Ontario N. and S., York N., Simcoe S., Peel, Cardwell, Halton, Grey E., London, Middlesex W. and S., Huron W., Bothwell, Lambton E. and W., Muskoka (*a*).
6. Toronto E., W., C., Ontario W., York E. and W., Simcoe N. and E. (*a*), Wellington N., S., and C., Grey N., Brant, Middlesex E. and N., Perth S., Huron E., Bruce N. and W.
7. Addington, Lennox, Welland, Lincoln, Haldimand, Wentworth N. and S., Hamilton, Grey S., Norfolk N. and S., Elgin E. and W., Oxford N. and S., Perth N., Huron S., Bruce E.
8. Waterloo N. and S. 9. Prescott, Russell, Ottawa, Essex N.
10. Carleton, Renfrew N. and S., Nipissing, Algoma. (*a*) aberrant.

Census districts usually contain 20,000 inhabitants, be the same more or less, and in the accompanying table census districts are grouped, not geographically, but according to the proportion of different nationalities represented in the group. British, German, and French nationalities virtually occupy the whole field. The fifth, sixth, and seventh groups are the largest, and therefore represent normal Ontario; the second, third, and fourth may be regarded as stepping-stones to the fifth, and the eighth as an appendix and exaggeration of the seventh group.

The three big groups contain two-thirds of the population; of which two-thirds, one-third is partly German and two-thirds ultra-British. Though more populous by one-fifth than Quebec Province, Ontario is not populous. Old Ontario equals England minus Wales in area and Wales minus England in population; but then it only began life in 1786.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII

Let $a = 10$ years; $x = 26{,}000$ people; $n =$ a negligible fraction; and the formula of the progress of Ontario since 1781 will read thus: $3a = 3x - n$; $6a = 18x - n$; $7a = 36x + n$; $10a = 74x$; $12a = 84x$.

The arrangement of these typical groups may be inferred by watching the decline and fall of the British, Irish, French, and German figures in their respective columns; and it is an undesigned coincidence that the Highlanders of the first, and the British of the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and half the seventh group, have been and are drifting westward, and therefore diminishing in number, except at great towns, like Toronto, London, and Hamilton; while the other districts or half-districts and great towns have been and are increasing all along the line. Again, the ethnical order of progression reveals as though by accident geographical order.

In the ensuing analysis it will be noted that, with the exception of the second item, six successive types may be encountered by a traveller up the St. Lawrence in the order, or almost in the order, in which they are given in the tables.

The reason of this rule is that with one exception distance from Quebec Province diminishes French influences, and nearness to Niagara increases German influences, these two nationalities being antipathetic; and the reason of the exception is that in the far south-west Detroit is, and always was, a minor focus from which Frenchmen spread. On the other hand, the ninth and tenth types contain every district on the Ottawa, and no other district in Old Ontario, except north Essex, which is as closely in contact with French surroundings at Detroit as the Ottawa colonies are with those of Quebec Province on the Ottawa.

We will now discuss the ten groups in detail.

(1) Glengarry is the only county with a Scotch majority. The proximity of Quebec accounts for its French population; Scotch and French diminishing as we go upstream. The presence of Germans, who increase as we go upstream, reminds us that we are no longer in Quebec Province. The far north-east division only contains two counties, and,

strange to say, its nearest analogy—if we substitute English for Scotch—is

(2) In the far south-west near which French elements were present at Detroit before Ontario began to exist. The unspecified six per cent. in Kent and Essex consist partly of runaway American Negro slaves, who came here in order to be free. Ontario negroes number 8,900[1], but were half as much again in 1871, and three-fourths of them live here or hereabouts.

(3) In Dundas and the Bay of Quinté a large proportion of the early Loyalists were Germans, who are already more than three times as numerous as the French. The residue of the population chiefly consists of 1,100 Iroquois Loyalists who have since 1784 (*circa*) resided at Tyendenaga on the Bay of Quinté. Their relatives, over 3,000 in number, have since the same date resided on Grand River near Brantford, and account for most of the deficiency in the sixth group.

(4) In the Kingston group British preponderance, which has been steadily growing, reaches its zenith; and in this case British means Irish, for the workmen on the Rideau were largely Irish, and the seed which was scattered broadcast by Peter Robinson grew and spread.

(5) The district typified by Peterborough and London is equally British; considerable Indian reserves south of the Trent Lakes (Mississaguas), on the Thames below London (Delawares), and on St. Clair River and Lake (Hurons, &c.), account for most of the undefined residue; and Frenchmen are at vanishing point except in Muskoka, where other nationalities—Scandinavian, Swiss, and Italian—also appear.

(6) The Toronto type is only a little less British and un-French than its two predecessors; Penetang accounts for nearly half the Frenchmen in the group. There are Algonquin reserves in the Peninsula of Bruce County, as well as Iroquois reserves on Grand River, and a few American negroes have inhabited Oro on Lake Simcoe from almost the first.

(7) The Germans who now dispute, and in two districts (8) usurp, British paramountcy, came for the most part through Niagara from the western frontier of New York State, where they were pioneers.

(9, 10) The ninth and tenth types represent the growing end of Ontario, which is also in contact with the growing end

[1] Population 1901.

of Quebec Province almost as far west as North Bay. In the north-easternmost county Frenchmen are more than half; in the next county they are all but half; in Ottawa, which comes next, they are about one-third; then they are a little more, and then a little less, than one-eighth; after which British only exceed French by a few hundred in Nipissing, while west of Nipissing British ascendancy is once more unchallenged as far as the western frontier; and French are almost as rare as Germans. Germans are very few except in Renfrewshire just east of Nipissing, where they are one-fifth of the population; and in the same county 2,400 Russians, or more than half the Russians of Ontario, dwell. The Scandinavians of Ontario were in 1901 fewer even than the Russians, and like the Russians dwelt mainly in the wilder districts of the north-west. Indians, of course, increase as we move west; nearly half of them residing in Algoma, where the principal Algonquin reserve is on Manitoulin Island in Georgian Bay. The Indians of Ontario are 20,000, against 15,000 in 1881. The population becomes more and more miscellaneous, its type is less fixed and definite, the more we advance westward; and the railway stations west of Fort William are named Finland, Linko, Upsala in order to denote the origin of their occupants.

Authorities.

Census figures for the Canadas were published by the authorities at Quebec for 1851–2, and 1860–1, and have since then been published decennially by the authorities of the Dominion at Ottawa for 1870–1, 1880–1, 1890–1, and 1900–1. The fourth volume of the publication which deals with 1870–1 contains also in a summary form the census figures for the different provinces before 1870–1, including the figures for 1860–1, and 1851–2, and of eleven previous Ontarian censuses between 1851 and 1824. For dates prior to 1824 see Robert Gourlay, *Statistical Account of Upper Canada*, 2 vols., 1822; Sir Charles Lucas, *History of Canada*, 1763–1812, 1909, Chapter IV; *Report for* 1891 *on the Archives of Canada*, by David Brymner; and the *Introduction* of the 1870–1 Census Report, vol. iv.

James White, *Atlas of Canada*, 1906, contains Statistical details from the Census of 1901, presenting differences of nationality, &c., in different colours, and giving lists of towns, &c.

Data for the previous physical condition of the Province are obtainable in—

(1) General Descriptions of which Joseph Bouchette's books

mentioned at the end of Chapter VI, and Robert Gourlay, *Statistical Account of Upper Canada*, 2 vols., 1822, and G. M. Grant, *Picturesque Canada*, 1881, are examples.

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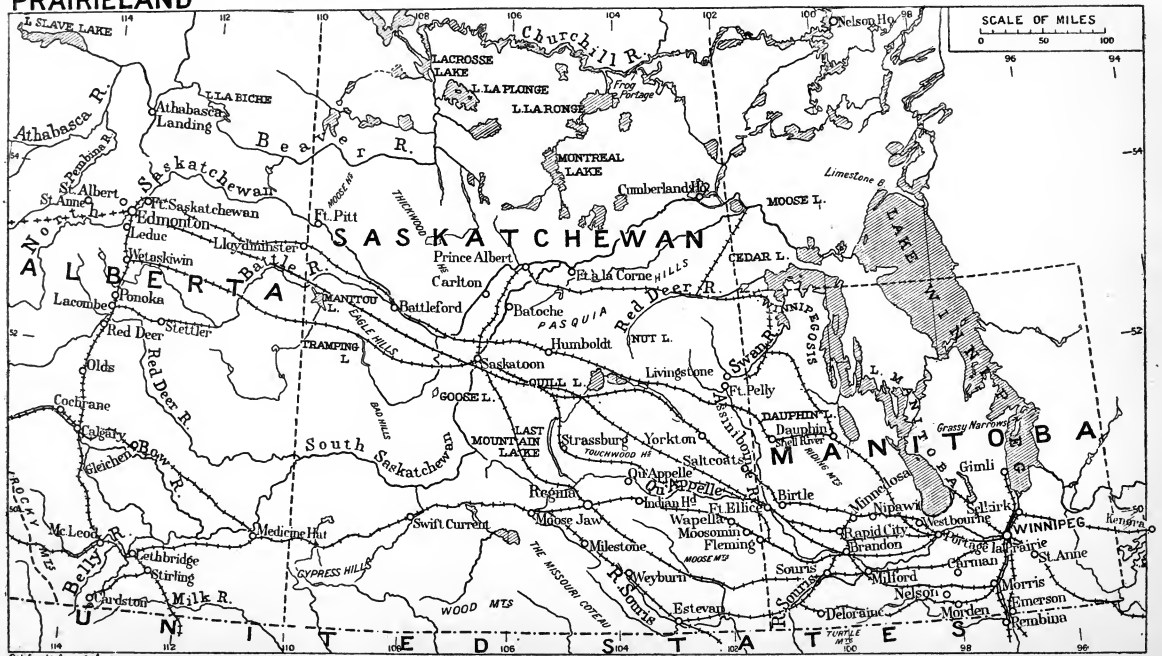
Letters from Sussex Emigrants who sailed ... in April, 1832, 2nd ed., 1833. British Museum Library, 10470 c. 32.

PRAIRIELAND



R.V. Darbishire, Oxford, 1910

CHAPTER VIII

THE MIDDLE WEST

Prairie-land.

East of Winnipeg prairie-land begins,

Somewhere on the threshold of Manitoba woods vanish, rough places are made smooth, the earth is a level lawn, lakes and rivers are not what they were, and the horizon widens. To the east an infinite series of wooded hills, watery hollows, lakes, swamps, and rocks, cramps while it diversifies the scenery, and perplexes while it enchants the imagination; and as we move westward the maze becomes more intricate and stone-strewn or wet up to a point, beyond which there is an utter change; but the point is not definite nor is the change sudden. The lovely, well-named, many-islanded Lake of the Woods is the last west lake which is a true lake, so that the point of change is west of this lake. The east frontier of Manitoba is a mere line of longitude drawn due north from the north-west angle of the lake; and henceforth provinces, like parallelograms enclosed by four straight lines of longitude and latitude, and sub-divided into square townships six miles by six, begin to disfigure the map as though we had reached a region destitute of geographical outline. But the dividing line between woodland and plain is west of the provincial frontier, and is the first of several real lines which now begin to straggle and stray across the map from south-east to north-west. It may be discerned by the traveller from the east somewhere near Whitemouth, forty miles or so north-east of Winnipeg; or, if he travels to Winnipeg by the Dawson road from the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, somewhere near St. Anne des Chênes, forty miles or so south-east of Winnipeg. There he sees his first plain. For 1,700 miles east of him, right to the Atlantic, there is nothing like this, except perhaps in miniature on the

Acadian salt-marshes; and for 900 miles west of him, right to the Rockies, there is hardly anything but this. Here, well to the east of Winnipeg (pop. 95,300[1]), which is the provincial capital of Manitoba and the commercial capital of prairie land, prairie-land begins, and there in the Rockies prairie-land ends. But prairie-land is not all prairie, and the prairies are of several sorts. What, then, are the Canadian prairies? It is easier to say what they are not, than what they are.

which consists of three steppes;

A Canadian, when asked before a Royal Commission, 'Are there no tracts of land such as the Americans call prairies in Canada?' replied, 'None in the Canadas' (1826),[2] for the Canadas meant nothing to him but the old forest provinces where water is the only level surface. The old provinces were the very antithesis of prairie, which is dry, level, and bare. Again, the mossy, treeless marsh-lands and stone-lands of Arctic Canada between Great Bear Lake, Great Slave Lake, Fort Churchill, and the northern seas, are called in Canada 'barrens', and in Lapland and Northern Siberia 'tundras', and are sometimes flat; and early travellers mistook 'prairies' for 'barrens'; but 'barrens' are the parodies of prairies, which are smooth, grassy, and dry, like our English Downs. Prairies are barer than barrens, flatter than downs, and better than the best parts of the forest provinces. But prairies do not monopolise prairie-land, and the parts of prairie-land which are not prairie are the most characteristic parts of prairie-land, and differ widely in three tracts, which lie side by side between Eastern Manitoba and the Rockies. As these tracts are at different levels—700 to 950 feet s.m. in the east, 1,250 feet to 1,950 feet s.m. in the middle, and 2,200 to 4,000 or 5,000 feet s.m. in the west—they are called steppes, like the steppes of Western Asia and Southern Russia, which also lie on almost the same parallel of latitude.

[1] Population 1906 includes St. Boniface; *c.* 150,000 now.
[2] *Second Report on Emigration*, 1826-7: Felton's evidence.

A steppe is a table-land; but the first, that is to say the easternmost, of the Canadian steppes, though it looks like a flat table, is really a concave basin between two rims. The eastern rim is the impalpable watershed betwen the Red River and the Lake of the Woods, which watershed is 1,100 to 1,200 feet s.m. The western rim is a very palpable scarp, 360 to 400 feet high, which runs 300 to 400 miles north-north-west, from Pembina Mountain on the frontier (49° N. lat.) to the River Saskatchewan at a point somewhere nearer Fort La Corne than Cumberland House. The wooded heights of Pembina, Riding, Duck, and Thunder 'Mountains', and Porcupine and Pasquia 'Hills', serve as successive towers, and countless hillocks serve as turrets to the scarp; but, as in the Great Wall of China, its towers and turrets are not much higher than its top. From the foot of the scarp the basin slopes insensibly some 200 feet down to Red River and Lake Winnipeg, which are mere dents in its middle, and so up again to the eastern rim.

(1) *the Red River basin, which is bounded on the east by a hill-scarp,*

The basin is now divided into three tracts—lake, marsh, and dry land—which were once one; for the lakes and marshes are relics of the past, and the dry land of to-day is the marsh of yesterday and the lake of the day before. Long before history began, somewhere in the Post-Tertiary Age, one lake—to which geologists have given the fancy name of Lake Agassiz—is said to have filled the whole basin between rim and rim. The lake bottom planed itself into curves so gradual as to resemble flats, and the black lake-silt left by the receding waters is the most fertile soil in the world. While the surfaces of Eastern Canada were rough-hewn during the Primary Age, the Post-Tertiary Age moulded the first steppe of prairie-land, so that it might be thought that the contrast between the old Canada and the Canadian prairies is as striking geologically as it is geographically. But the geological contrast is only superficial; for the lake-mud is only a carpet, immediately beneath which there is a

and contains so-called lakes with marshes between them,

rock floor of Silurian or Devonian limestone, like that of the valley of the St. Lawrence, or that of south-westernmost Ontario. Sometimes the rock protrudes; thus the thin, low rock-rib—rarely more than fourteen feet high—which runs off and on for two hundred miles along the west side of Lake Winnipeg, from Grassy Narrows in the south to Limestone Bay in the north, is like an attenuated reminiscence of Niagara and Quebec, and sometimes a rock-bone sticks in a channel and forms rapids; but, as a rule, the rocks are invisible and do not disturb the surface. The lakes themselves—Lake Winnipeg, Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis, which resemble a split shadow of Lake Winnipeg, and their satellites, Lakes Red Deer, Swan, Dauphin, Waterhen, and St. Martin, are mutually connected, like the great inland seas of the St. Lawrence, but are mere puddles in comparison, Lake Winnipeg being until recently put down as twenty-nine feet deep at most,[1] and Lakes Manitoba and Swan being only a little deeper than the so-called lakes in Hyde Park and St. James's Park respectively. Nevertheless, Lakes Winnepegosis, Manitoba, and Winnipeg are 828 feet, 810 feet, and 710 feet above the sea respectively, so that if, as is supposed, they were once one vast lake filling the whole of the first steppe, they must then have been almost as deep as Lake Erie, which is by far the shallowest of the inland seas of the St. Lawrence; but nowadays they are mere *lagune vive*, and the marsh-lands between them are a little more than *lagune morte*. As a rule, however, these lakes have firm, tree-clad shore-lines; sometimes natural raised causeways of pebbles 'like pigeons'-eggs', and forty miles long, cross the marshes; and Inter-Lake-Land varies from time to time. In 1868 a writer declared that 'the land' between the western rim and Lake Winnipeg might 'almost be said to be water'.[2] In

[1] *Description of the Province of Manitoba* (official), 1893, p. 30; but there is a cut 96 feet deep, *Geological Survey*, 1898, p. 13 F.

[2] M. Taché, *Sketch of the North-West of America*, 1868 (translated by Captain D. Cameron), p. 81.

1874 the surveyors of the Canadian Pacific Railway thought this very land so dry, that they decided that their railway should go north-west from Selkirk, cross the Narrows of Lake Manitoba by a bridge, and so reach Edmonton; but in 1879 wider experiences caused this decision to be revoked. The revocation was fortunate; for in 1881 John Macoun found 'the whole country afloat' west of the Narrows; and to this day Inter-Lake-Land, though one of the earliest to be reached by settlers, is thinly peopled and all but destitute of railways. Natural accidental variations of solidity suggested drainage, and efforts at reclamation have been made here or hereabouts during this century on a scale and with a success greater than elsewhere in Eastern Canada. Possibly, then, some parts of Inter-Lake-Land will be converted in the future by the operations of nature or the efforts of man into prairies or the semblance of prairies.

The area of possible future prairie-land is bounded on the north by the region of Archaean Gneiss, which extends from a little north of Lake Winnipeg, and of the north bank of the Saskatchewan, towards Hudson Bay and the Arctics. So far as is known the uselessness of this Archaean tract is irremediable. Its very rivers are unfit for navigation. Thus Nelson River, which conducts the waters of Lake Winnipeg into Hudson Bay, is so shallow and rocky, that it is avoided even by canoes. The most primitive forces of the earth and of history still fashion the hinterland of Inter-Lake-Land, which is and remains, what God made it, and the Hudson Bay Company made of it.

as well as true prairies,

South of Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba prairies stretch from the eastern border of prairie-land to the western rim of the first steppe, and right down to the frontier, more or less. The qualification 'more or less' is necessary because, as a rule, the banks of rivers are clothed with trees, and tree clumps may be seen on the level land like sails on a still sea; so that on a clear day isolated trees of sorts are said to be

always discernible from the highest Manitoban house-tops or elevators. This narrow strip is thickly peopled, for it contains all the prairies, which contain all the famous wheat fields, which Manitoba ever had, or was ever thought likely to have.

and whose chief rivers run at right angles to one another, making development oblong;

There are only two principal rivers of the Manitoban prairies, the Red River and its affluent the Assiniboine. The Red River flows north from its source—close by the source of the Mississippi, far within the border of the United States; and the Assiniboine flows east in so far as its course threads the first steppe for it comes from far, and belongs more to the second than to the first steppe. Both wind, for they are characteristic prairie rivers, and the rich soil makes Red River tawnier than the Tiber, or than any river between Red River and the marshlands of the Bay of Fundy. Similarly, Lake Winnipeg, which means 'muddy water'—because, as the Crees say, a bad god was once so pelted with filth by womenfolk that in trying to clean himself in the lake he only muddied it[1]—is a characteristic prairie lake, if it may be called lake, and points north more or less; while the Saskatchewan, turbid amongst other things with prairie mud, meets it at its north corner after coming from furthest west; but the Saskatchewan belongs more to the second than to the first, and more to the third than to the second steppe. Widely sundered river-lines run eastward, and widely sundered lines of river, lake, and hill run northward or north-north-westward. If, then, geography determines development, it might be expected that the first steppe would develop, not like Quebec Province along a single line, nor like Old Ontario within triangles bounded by water, but as an oblong. And this is what happened; but it must be remembered that development in Inter-Lake-Land presented a very different problem to the problem of development on the compact continuous prairies to the south.

(2) *the second*

The second steppe begins with the scarp with which the

[1] Sir J. Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Polar Sea*, 1823, p. 43.

first steppe ends, and may be described as an extension of the scarp-top three hundred miles to the west. The scarp is innocent of rocks, and consists of shale, sand, clay, and marl of Cretaceous, that is to say, of the uppermost Secondary Age. There is no Canadian tract which represents the Secondary Age east of the second steppe, if we except 'recognizable fragments' of this formation embedded here and there in the first steppe; therefore the second steppe, being almost wholly Cretaceous, is a novelty in Canada. Its fertility and populousness equals that of the Manitoban prairie, its 'deep blue clays' of Cretaceous Age either enriching its surface, or intercepting rain a little below the surface, so as to provide well-water within easy reach. Where Cretaceous formations are not uppermost, this steppe displays anticipations of the next steppe on its west, which steppe is a still greater novelty in Canada.

steppe which is Cretaceous,

The middle steppe slopes gradually upward towards its western boundary, which is a scarp, sometimes woody and sometimes not, known as the Côteau du Missouri, and of about the same apparent height as the scarp between the first and second steppes. Geographically this scarp is the eastern edge of the third steppe; geologically it is a moraine, formed of boulder-drift and earthy materials belonging to the lowest Tertiary Age; and it is the easternmost tract of Canada where tertiary formations prevail, if we except fragments of itself which are scattered along the middle steppe. This scarp runs north-west 350 miles or so just west of the Estevan-Moose Creek Railroad, or of Moose Jaw Creek and Long Creek, reaching the South Saskatchewan near Swift Current, resuming further north as Bad Hills and Eagle Hills, and perhaps (north of the North Saskatchewan) as Thickwood Hills. In the middle of the middle steppe there is a disconnected series of tree-crowned flat-topped hills, a few hundred feet high, but sometimes with declivities fourteen miles long, known successively as Turtle and Moose Mountains,

is intersected by the Mock Côteau and bounded on the west by the Côteau which are Tertiary,

and Wolfe, Brandon, File, Pheasant, Little Touchwood, Touchwood, and perhaps Lumpy and Birch Hills, which lie parallel with and seem to mock the Côteau. These ten mild 'mountains' and 'hills' are also composed of boulder-drift, and also point north-west. Between the mock and the real Côteau the second steppe exhibits its longest stretches of pure prairie, and vivid descriptions of some of these stretches, which figured in books of forty or fifty years ago, used to pass as typical of all prairie land. A thin belt of salt-plain connects Long Lake and Quill Lake north-west of Touchwood Hill; from Birch Hill Thomas Simpson saw, as he gazed along (not across) this stretch of prairie, 'barren hills and hollows like a petrified sea—said to extend to the Missouri'. John Macoun, too, crossed forty-five miles of fissured, shrubless plain, between Moose Mountain and the Côteau.[1] Observers noticed the vices and exceptions before the virtues. What seemed limitless prairie is common enough on the second steppe, but it is rarely hummocky or saline or fissured (except by the plough); and trees or hills are almost always near at hand. Thus between Winnipeg, Fort Pelly, and Carlton (on the bend of the North Saskatchewan), Simpson steered by woods in the day and slept in woods by night; for the large Lakes were fringed with oak, elm, poplar, and pine; and countless bluffs, crowned with aspens, and ponds, girt with willows, dotted the plain between the white poplars and birch trees of Duck Mountain and of the South Saskatchewan. His course was west by north. Further west, the road to the north presents a similar interchange of plain, pond, and tree, and during Riel's Rebellion (1885) Colonel Mason's company marched 243 miles from Qu'Appelle Fort northward to Batoche, finding 'firewood and water in abundance' all the way; and further south the road to the west lies

[1] e.g. John Macoun, *Manitoba and the great Northwest*, 1882, pp. 56 et seq., p. 86; Thomas Simpson, *Narrative of Discoveries*, 1845, ch. 2; Professor H. Y. Hind, *Canadian, &c., Expedition*, 1860, vol. i, p. 339.

within sight of the valley-walls and trees lining the rivers of the second steppe.

is threaded by crooked rivers,

These rivers are shallow, sinuous, devious shadows of what they once were. Absence of rock makes them meander aimlessly; the high, dry air of the plateau has shrivelled them, and accident has turned them awry. If the Assiniboine is followed up past its affluents, the Souris and Qu'Appelle, to its source, the differences between the rivers of the plain and the rivers of Eastern Canada are apparent.

e. g. the Souris,

The Souris seems to come from, and to beckon wanderers towards the regions of the Missouri and Yellowstone in the far south-west; but the Côteau in Canada is its real source, and between Melita and Alameda it takes 180 miles to accomplish what the modern train accomplishes in 60 miles.

Qu'Appelle,

The Jordan is not more tortuous. The Qu'Appelle looks on a small-scale map as though it pointed 220 miles due westward from Fort Ellice to its source; but its valley, which is 110 to 320 feet deep and a mile or more wide, is far longer; and the river in the valley exceeds 500 miles in length, is on an average 8 or 12 feet deep, and 80 feet wide or so, winding like thin yarn in a winding skein, or if perchance it fills its valley it is called a lake.

Assiniboine,

The Assiniboine, after luring wanderers westward, north-westward, and northward, turns back upon itself at Fort Pelly, where it approaches Swan River, which, with its northerly companion Red Deer River, belongs to those large lakes of the first steppe to which there are no analogies on the second steppe. The guiding rivers are crooked instead of straight, and are probably more crooked than they once were. One valley encloses the Qu'Appelle right to its source, and also encloses Aiktow Creek, which rises from the same source, and flows westward into the South Saskatchewan twelve miles away. Probably at one time the South Saskatchewan ran eastward through this valley, right from the Rockies to Winnipeg, keeping—like the Canadian Pacific Railway of to-day—between the 50th and 51st degree

of latitude all the way; if so, an 85-foot cutting or dam would restore the ancient course. Similarly the Qu'Appelle might be, and possibly was once, diverted down Elbow Bone Creek into the Souris.

and North Saskatchewan;

The rivers are the playthings of chance; although the presence of definite river-valleys and banks, like those of the Qu'Appelle, suggests that they were once comparatively straight and deep. The North and Main Saskatchewan is the only river which has held its course consistently and persistently through the ages. It is by far the straightest river in prairie-land. Nevertheless below where the Sipanok Channel leaves it, its banks are low and its course capricious; thus it can hardly be mere coincidence that its expansion called Cedar Lake is on the same level as Lake Winnepegosis, which is separated from it by four miles of flat, ten feet high. Even above the Sipanok paddles are exchanged for poles for the next nine hundred miles; and it has one great bend, which doubles the distance between Carlton House and Battleford, or Prince Albert and Fort Pitt. It is a great river and has played a great part in history; but it is quite unlike the St. Lawrence or Ottawa. The lucid waters of the old provinces were always the only, and often the nearest way between point and point; but the discoloured waters of prairie-land were never the only, and were always the longest, way between point and point. In prairie-land landways were direct and unobstructed, and waterways circuitous and sometimes obstructed, the converse being the case down east. On the second steppe it was possible to move in any direction, and to settle anywhere between five degrees of latitude, and in some places seven degrees of longitude, so that not triangles but oblongs once more symbolized progress. But the civilized oblongs on the first and second steppes differed in size as well as in character. Manitoba resembles a long low

[1] H. Y. Hind, *Narrative of Canadian Exploring Expeditions*, 1860, vol. i, pp. 355, 428.

building—every inch of it alive with men, busy, and rich, with towers and spires shooting upward here and there,—the highest and most solid on its west where it touches the second steppe; the civilized parts of Saskatchewan resemble a square —like the great square of Pegasus—not quite so full as the living-rooms, but far higher than the highest pinnacles of its eastern neighbour, and with the same inevitable wastes above it.

(3) *and the third steppe which is tertiary, slopes up to the Rockies,*

The third steppe consists of those drifts and earths of the Côteau, which are superimposed upon those earths and shales of the second steppe, which are superimposed upon those limestones, which lurk underneath the first steppe. It is higher, drier, barer, and hillier than its fellows. The highest altitude on its west is more than 2,000 feet higher than the highest altitude on its east, and seems, when looked at from above, the uptilted end of a rolling plain, and, when looked at from below, a platform upon which mountains stand. It is really both; for the Rocky Mountains are rocks and glaciers piled up abruptly and confusedly upon the western extremity of prairie-land.

has arid parts,

When Sir George French led the newly formed North-West Mounted Police on their historic ride along the frontier from the Red River to 'Fort Hamilton'[1] and Macleod, wood, grass, and water began to fail on and after the Côteau; then Wood Mountain and Cypress Hills yielded both for more than one hundred miles; afterwards he reached Milk River (which belongs to the Missouri), Belly River (which is the second greatest branch of the South Saskatchewan), and the plain changed imperceptibly into foot-hills, much as a calm sea changes into a stormy sea when the breeze stiffens, and he was safe (1874). When the Marquis of Lorne rode 260 miles south-west from Battleford to Blackfoot Crossing[2] on Bow River (which is the chief branch of the South Saskat-

[1] Near Lethbridge on the Mary-Belly Junction.
[2] Near Gleichen.

chewan), he found no wood north-east of Red Deer River (which is the third greatest branch of the South Saskatchewan) except at Sounding Lake, and neither wood nor water between Red Deer River and Bow River (1881); and Sir John Palliser had a similar experience between Red Deer River, at Hand Hills, and Bow River in 1858. When Bow River was reached, wood and water were abundant, and the undulations of the plain were already swelling into the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains. The railway traveller of to-day enters the same arid zone at Moose Jaw and leaves it at Gleichen, between which he sometimes sees 'hard, white, sun-cracked clay', with scarce, tufty buffalo-grass, or even sage-brush,[1] and sometimes a sand-dune or two, and sometimes an old dry river-bed littered with quartzite stones, smooth as pebbles on a sea-beach; and the ponds by the wayside are rarely fresh, as their white crystals and crimson salicornea show. The extent of this arid zone was once wildly exaggerated. Professor Hind, who was an optimist in his day (1860), described it as beginning at Pembina Mountain on the frontier and curving upward along the Assiniboine to Touchwood Hills on the mock Côteau (50° N. lat.), running straight thence to where Red Deer is now, and redescending abruptly from Red Deer to the frontier near the sources of the Belly; within which rude arch lay what he called desert, and above which lay what he called the Rainbow of the West. Modern authorities trace the upward curve along the real Côteau, and describe the land inside the curve as pastoral land, with patches of agricultural and patches of barren land, much of the latter being easily reclaimable. Indeed, on its borders the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company drew water from the St. Mary River, and made the Lethbridge district into a beet-garden; and the Canadian Pacific Irrigation and Colonization Company drew water from the Bow, and reclaimed large tracts east of Calgary. These efforts began

[1] Artemisia.

in the Nineties, and similar efforts are in process of being made near the junction of the Bow with the Belly and elsewhere. What drainage is doing for the northern parts of the first steppe, irrigation is doing for that southern fraction of the third steppe, which reflects on a small scale and in a mild degree the characteristics of the so-called Central American deserts of the United States. Clearly the civilized oblong of Alberta has disadvantages from which its eastern neighbours are free, and which suggest that it will never be quite so full and busy as they are. But there is another side to the picture, and Alberta enjoys advantages which they do not enjoy.

and parts influenced by Pacific winds, e.g. the Peace River District,

A strip between the dry tract and the Rockies is influenced by warm winds from the Pacific.[1] In mid-winter, thaws disperse the snow from time to time, and cattle fatten out of doors, but the re-freezing of the exposed earth injures its crops. A little north-west of the northernmost latitude of the dry tract, alternate ridged and swampy forests encompass the head-waters of the Athabasca beyond Lake St. Anne (near Edmonton), and all traces of prairie-land are effaced; but prairie-land recurs further north in the Peace River District, or that district through which the Peace River and its southern affluents flow, and which includes Lesser Slave Lake on the east, but excludes the mountain gorges of the west and the Arctic lands north of Fort Vermilion,[2] or thereabouts. Here valley-walls reveal the same stones and earth as the constituents of the second and third steppes; rolling prairies alternate with pine and poplar thickets; and west of Smoky River, which joins the Peace River at what is now the Hudson Bay Company's Fort of Peace River Landing,[3] there are 3,000 square miles of true prairie. Near Fort Vermilion Mackenzie first noted the effects of the Pacific winds in winter (1792–3); at Peace River Landing he built a fort on what is now a potato patch, and near where pumpkins are growing; and in 1907 there was a saw-mill, a flour-mill, and 'quite a

[1] Chinook winds. [2] c. 58° 25′ N. lat. [3] c. 56° 10′ N. lat.

Settlement at Fort Vermilion', wheat being the 'staple crop'.[1] Beet, tomatoes, and apples ripened on an experimental farm which was carried on by the Dominion Government, and the Hudson Bay factors led the new departure. These open tracts to the north of the shut tracts of the Upper Athabasca are to prairie-land what real is to Indian summer, or aftermath is to harvest. The Peace and Athabasca flow north into the Mackenzie, and the North and South Saskatchewan east into Lake Winnipeg; yet here, at all events, prairie-land ignores watersheds. This strip of prairie-land has no natural boundaries on its north and shoots up indefinitely towards the Arctics, or merges in the valley of the Mackenzie.

or e.g. the Mackenzie Basin;

The whole valley of the Mackenzie from Athabasca Landing to the Arctics is also a land of hope. Edmonton is now the one and only gateway to the Mackenzie. A portage, one hundred miles long, which is now a coach-road and will soon be a rail-road, leads from Edmonton to Athabasca Landing on the Athabasca River, which having risen in the south-west henceforth flows north and north-west, merging successively in Lake Athabasca, Great Slave River and Lake, and Mackenzie River, and reaching the Arctic Ocean nearly two thousand miles from the Landing. Athabasca Landing has two or more competing stores—the principal competitors being the Hudson Bay Company and Révillons Frères—a French Roman Catholic and an English Protestant mission; and these two trading and proselytising establishments face or alternate with one another from end to end of the Great River, reproducing in the oddest and friendliest way the piebald uncivilization of the Red River Colony of nearly a century ago, or the piebald civilization of the Quebec Province of to-day. The line of life is very frail, and keeps strictly to the river banks. The trade and mission stations on the river are always more than a house and less than a village, are on the average one hundred miles apart, and, usually command, as

[1] *Official Handbook, Alberta*, 1907, p. 54.

the old forts on the St. Lawrence once commanded some rapid, some affluent, or some inland sea. There are only two important rapids, Fort Macmurray is just below the first, and Fort Smith[1] is just below the second. There are two inland seas, and Fort Chipewyan is to Lake Athabasca what Fort Resolution is to Great Slave Lake, or what Kingston or Fort Frontenac once was to Lake Ontario. Three great affluents join it on the west, the Peace, Liard, and Peel, and Forts Chipewyan, Simpson, and Macpherson control their respective points of junction. The mouths of three important eastern affluents are commanded by Forts Macmurray, Norman, and Good Hope; there is one outlying fort on the east of Lake Athabasca, and another on the north of Great Slave Lake, and Fort Macpherson and its dependency, Arctic Red River Post, although situate on the spot where the Delta of the Mackenzie begins, send out feeders to the far north-west and north-east. On the north-west Herschel Island, where there are American whalers, an Anglican mission, and a post of the Royal North-West Mounted Police, trades with Fort Macpherson; and from time to time there is an outpost of the Fort on the north-east near Cape Bathurst. Steamers ply regularly between the rapids at Macmurray and Fort Smith, and between Fort Smith and Macpherson. Timber lines the valley up to 68° 55′ N. lat.; and potatoes, turnips, carrots, and cabbages are habitually grown at Fort Good Hope.[2] The barest minimum of white-man's civilization penetrates along this favoured channel without one break from the crowded centres of the western steppe into that desolate uninhabitable region, with which the first chapter of this book dealt. It would almost seem as though we had wheeled round again to the solitudes of the starting-place. But there is nothing cyclical about the shape or destiny of Canada; and if, as is probable, the Mackenzie basin and Peace River District, instead of having only a few hundred white men—as is the case now—

[1] c. 60° N. lat. [2] c. 66° 20′ N. lat.

becomes as populous as the analogous Russian Province upon the Lower Ob and Irtish—where there are already a million and a half free Russians—that result will be due partly to the fertility of the strip between Athabasca Landing and the Arctic region, but partly too to the fact that the courses of the Athabasca, Peace, Liard, and Peel lure men across the western mountains; for Canada has always been and still is racing westward.[1]

and leads to 13 passes over the Rockies.

The strip between the dry lands and Rockies is of peculiar interest as the approach to the mountain passes, of which thirteen are well-known and six are famous in Canadian history. These passes are given on the opposite page in their geographical order from north to south, and the order of their discovery so far as it is known is not very different from their geographical order.

The third steppe has coal,

The steppes have their special minerals and coal. The lowest tertiary, and possibly the highest secondary beds of the third steppe yield coal at Estevan on the frontier; at Frank and Fernie on Crow's Nest Pass; at Canmore, near Kicking Horse Pass, and Pembina River west of Edmonton; and lignite or coal are visible at Red Deer River (52° 19′ N. lat.), Edmonton, Dunvegan on the Upper Peace, and elsewhere on the third steppe, and even in the far north, a little below Fort Macmurray and a little above Fort Norman.[2] East of the third steppe or its outliers, there is an interval of 1,600 or 1,700 miles without actual or possible coal, for the earth here is too old for coal. As in south-westernmost Ontario, so along the railway lines between Medicine Hat and Calgary, natural gases well up from Devonian depths; there is near Pincher Creek in the south, and Fort Macmurray in the north,

[1] *Geological Survey of Canada, Reports on Peace River District* by William Ogilvie, 1892; and by James Macoun, 1903; Alfred H. Harrison, *In search of a Polar Continent*, 1908; A. Deans Cameron, *The New North*, 1910.

[2] Sir A. Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 1801, ed. by R. Waite (1903), vol. ii, p. 347; *Journals of Alexander Henry the Younger*, 1799–1814, ed. by E. Cowes, pp. 679, 702.

River Head.	*Name of Pass.*	*Feet above sea level*	*Discovery of Pass.*	*Famous Passages of Pass.*
Peace River	Peace River Pass [4]	Over 2,000	Sir A. Mackenzie, 1793	Sir W. F. Butler, 1872
,,	Pine River Pass	2,850	(Later)	
,,	Smoky River Pass	5,300	(Later)	C. F. Hanington, 1874–5
Athabasca River	Yellowhead Pass [4]	3,738	Shortly before 1827	200 Canadians, 1862; Milton and Cheadle, 1863; Rae, 1864; McLelan, 1871; Sir S. Fleming and C. Grant, 1872; G. T. P. R., 1910
,,	Athabasca Pass [4]	6,025	Freemen 1809	D. Thompson, 1810
N. Saskatchewan	Howse Pass [4]	4,800	D. McGillivray, 1800	Sir J. Hector, 1859
Bow River (S. Saskatchewan)	Kicking Horse [4]	5,329	Sir J. Hector, 1858 [1]	C. P. R., 1885
,, ,,	Vermilion	5,264	Do.	Sir J. Hector, 1858
,, ,,	Simpson [2]	6,650	Freemen ?	Sir G. Simpson, 1841
,, ,,	White Man [2]	6,870	Freemen ?	23 Canadian families, 1841
,, ,,	Kananaskis	6,200	Freemen ?	Sir J. Palliser, 1858
Belly River ,,	Crow's Nest [4]	4,449	T. Blakiston, 1858 [3]	C. P. R., 1897
,, ,,	N. Kootenay	6,750	Do. and Palliser, 1858	

[1] A horse-kick stunned Sir J. Hector, who wrote, 'My recovery might have been more tedious but for the fact that we were starving.'

[2] Sir G. Simpson, *Journey Round the World*, 1847, vol. i, pp. 89, 126, &c. Pass doubtful: *Report Geol. Survey*, 1885, p. 9 B. [3] T. B. described it only: *Accounts and Papers*, 1860, vol. xliv, p. 507. [4] Famous Passes.

oil as well as gas; and the bitumen of Athabasca River, and the salt-springs worked since 1819 on the south-west shore of Lake Winnipegosis and at Swan Lake, are also Devonian.

the second has brick,

The second steppe is without minerals, but bricks are made at Moose Jaw, Regina, and Sidney.

all had bison, and grizzlies.

Bison, miscalled buffaloes, are the characteristic animals of prairie-land. They were seen by Kellsey (1691–2), La Vérendrye (1732 et seq.), and Hendry (1754–5), madly careering over the three steppes. Hearne saw them on the south shore of Great Slave Lake (1772),[1] and Mackenzie heard of them there, and on the Liard,[2] north-west of that lake. They still existed on the Liard in a wild state in 1872. Millions roamed over the prairies, and in one day in 1769 a fur-trader counted 7,360 drowned bisons in the Lower Assiniboine[3]; in 1858–1875 their tracks rutted the neighbourhood of Turtle Mountain, but their selves had long since passed westward; and now the bison of the plain survive only in 'parks', as in Lithuania, and the woodland bison are being preserved with difficulty from total extinction by the efforts of the Royal North-West Mounted Police at Fort Smith. Elk[4] and red-deer[5] had nearly the same range as the bison, except that the bison shunned marsh-lands, and the red-deer were often replaced by reindeer[6] in the north. In the time of Alexander Henry the Younger (1799–1814), grizzly bears were 'abundant' on Pembina Mountain, and though 'not numerous along Red River', frequented the three steppes, but with the passing of the bison the grizzlies slunk back to their mountain lairs west of prairie-land.

The chief Indians were Chippeways,

When bison waned the Indians of the prairie dwindled; and now the former are in preserves and the latter in reserves.

East of the Rockies, south of the Saskatchewan, or of 54°

[1] S. Hearne, *Journey*, p. 250. [2] 1789–93.
[3] John Macdonnell, in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, 1889, Series I, p. 294.
[4] Moose. [5] Wapiti. [6] Caribou.

N. lat., and north of the frontier, Chippeways[1] dwelt near the Lake of the Woods, Crees on the first, Assiniboines on the second, and the Blackfoot Confederacy on the third steppe. All, with two exceptions, were Algonquins and akin to all the Indians of Eastern Canada, except to the Hurons. The two exceptions were the Assiniboines and Sarsis. The Assiniboines were offshoots of the Sioux, who dwelt in Dakota (United States) and were not Algonquin; and the Assiniboines allied themselves to the Crees, and were to the Sioux what the Hurons of Quebec Province were in old times to the Iroquois of New York State. The Sioux, too, were waging war in 1680, 1731, and 1854, and probably in all the intermediate years, against the Chippeways, who for a similar reason became the allies of the Crees. The Sarsis were offshoots of the Chipewyan[2] stock, which frequented the River Churchhill, and every river lying north of 54° N. lat. and leading to the Arctic Ocean, but the Sarsis seceded from their kith and kin of the River Peace in order to join the Blackfoot Confederacy. Horses and guns changed Indian boundaries, but did not change Indian alliances. In 1738–9 the horse seems to have been unknown in prairie-land; in 1742–3, 'Gens des Chevaux' are mentioned in the far west, somewhere south of the frontier; Anthony Hendry (1754–5) called the Blackfoot Confederacy of the third steppe 'Equestrian Indians', because they were the only mounted Indians; finally in Henry the Younger's time (1799 et seq.) all prairie Indians were mounted, and the Assiniboines used to steal horses from their western neighbours and sell them to their eastern neighbours for guns.[3] The Blackfeet were the first to get horses, and the Crees were the first to get guns. As the horse stole, or was stolen, into prairie-land from south-west and west, Frenchmen and Englishmen brought their

Crees, Blackfeet, who were Algonquin,

Assiniboines (Sioux),

Sarsis (Chipewyan),

whose boundaries changed when horses and guns were introduced by white men.

[1] = Ojibbeways. [2] = Athapascan.

[3] *Sic* A. Henry. Comp. Sir J. Palliser, *Report on Exploration*, p. 13, in *Accounts and Papers*, 1859, vol. xxii, p. 653.

more deadly gifts from east and north-east. The Assiniboines got both swiftness and strength at second-hand, and were squeezed between friends and foes; and the Crees, with the Chippeways at their heels, enlarged their range at the expense of the Assiniboines, Blackfeet, and Chipewyans, but especially the defenceless Chipewyans. Thus in the eighteenth century they invaded the Peace River District, enslaved and made peace with the Chipewyan natives,—hence the words Slave River and Peace River—and now reach along the valley of the Mackenzie to Lake Athabasca. Horses and guns accelerated the doom of the bison, nor did the self-dependence of the Indians survive the bison, which had hitherto been their clothes, houses, bridles, saddles, bags, boats, weapons, fuel, meat, and very life.

Authorities.

The following are indispensable books for students of exploration in prairie-land :—

L. Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 1908 (an excellent history of exploration, with bibliography, &c.).

Sir W. F. Butler, *Great Lone Land*, 1872; *Wild North Land*, 1873, new ed. 1904 (popular classics).

G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Geology and Resources of . . . the 49th parallel*, 1875.

Sir S. Fleming, *Report on . . . Canadian Pacific Railway*, 1880.

G. M. Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, 1873, new ed. 1877 (a popular classic).

H. Y. Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River, &c., exploring Expedition*, 2 vols., 1860.

Alexander Henry the Younger and D. Thompson, *Journals of*, edited with notes, by E. Coues, 3 vols, 1897 (a mine of information).

J. Macoun, *Manitoba and the Great North-West*, 1882.

Lord Milton and W. B. Cheadle, *North-west Passage by Land*, 1865; new ed., 1901 (a popular classic).

Sir J. Palliser's *Expeditions*, including those of Sir James Hector (the New Zealand geologist) and T. W. Blakiston (the explorer of China) are contained in *Parliamentary Reports*, printed in *Accounts and Papers*, 1859, Sess. 2 (vol. xxii) and 1860 (vol. xliv).

Important Historical Maps are contained in D. Brymner, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1887, p. cx. (C. F. Hanington): 1890, p. 53 (Peter Pond); in Eliot Coues's edition of *A. Henry* (u. s.), vol. iii (David Thompson); and in Palliser's *Reports* (u. s.), *passim*.

CHAPTER IX

THE MANY NATIONS OF PRAIRIE-LAND

British entered prairie-land from Hudson Bay, 1691, 1754, &c.,

Down to 1870, Europeans invaded prairie-land from two sides—Hudson Bay, Nelson River, and Hayes River on the north-east; and Canada, Lake Superior, and Lake of the Woods on the east—and they reached its threshold in canoes. In 1691–2 Henry Kellsey explored the second steppe, and in 1754–5 Anthony Hendry explored the third steppe; both came from Hudson Bay, both journeys were on foot, and both were isolated; for in those days the Company, which they served, received but never returned Indians' visits.

Canadians from Canada, 1732, &c.,

Meanwhile La Vérendrye and his sons came from Canada and explored Lake Winnipeg (1732),[1] Winnipeg (1734),[2] and Portage La Prairie on the Assiniboine (1737),[3] where they planted forts at confluences and portages in the usual Canadian style. From Portage a flying visit was paid to the Missouri (1738–9) and the spurs of the Rockies (1742–3) in the United States. Except at the start, where they followed the apparent direction of the Souris, the travellers who went on foot paid no heed to waterways. These were the first dashes across dry land in Canadian history. From Lake Winnipeg, other expeditions were made up the Saskatchewan to its forks; and forts were founded at Cedar Lake,[4] Le Pas Crossing,[5] and near La Corne[6] on the way (1740–9). Two long lakes and three short straits lay between the two forts at Cedar Lake and Portage; accordingly a third fort[7] was founded on the strait between Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis in order to connect these two forts. These men clung to waterways, and threw a necklace of permanent forts

and the lakes and rivers of Manitoba were encircled by Canadian forts.

[1] Fort Maurepas. [2] Fort Rouge. [3] Fort La Reine.
[4] Fort Bourbon. [5] Fort Poskoia.
[6] Fort Nipawi and St. Louis. [7] Fort Dauphin.

round the wet parts of the first steppe, including however the Assiniboine, and some parts of the Saskatchewan, which just lay within the second steppe. La Corne, for instance, was within the second steppe; and one flying expedition up the South Saskatchewan is said to have reached the third steppe. The Indians who dealt with the French-Canadian forts were Chippeways, Crees, and Assiniboines; but the British of Hudson Bay still monopolized the Chipewyans, who came thither by the Churchill. Long walks on foot and away from rivers were new in Canada and left little mark on its history; but the chain of posts on the lake-shores and river-banks endured, and meant that the history of prairie-land had at last begun.

Rivalry began on the Saskatchewan, 1767, whence Canadians passed the Rockies via Cumberland House, Athabasca Lake, and Peace River, 1793;

Shortly before and after the conquest of 1759 prairie-land was left alone. In 1767 James Finlay and Thomas Curry retraced the old French waterways from Montreal as far as Nipawi on the Saskatchewan; in 1772 the Frobishers followed, and built a house at Cumberland on a backwater of the Saskatchewan within easy reach of Frog Portage, where they intercepted the Chipewyans on the way down the Churchill to Hudson Bay. The Hudson Bay Company took up the challenge, sent Matthew Cocking by Hendry's route to Nipawi in order to spy out the land (1772), and established their first inland settlement at Cumberland House (1773). But the Frobishers, Peter Pond, Alexander Henry the elder, and other Canadians were already flitting still further into the heart of the Chipewyan country, where they built 'houses' and forts at Frog Portage (1774), La Crosse Lake (1776), and Athabasca River (1778–84) and Lake (1788); whence Sir Alexander Mackenzie ascended the Peace River, building forts as he went, and crossing the Rockies (1793). Commercial rivalry diverted the way to the far west from the Saskatchewan at Cumberland House; and the first through-way lay north of what is usually called prairie-land, through a labyrinth of rivers and lakes, like

those in the Archaean regions of Quebec Province. This through-route persisted until the close of the century. Cumberland was always on the main through-route so long as men went to the west solely by water, and it is still sometimes used as a junction for Arctic Canada.

and, later, via the North Saskatchewan

Indian politics obstructed for awhile the natural through-way to the west along the North Saskatchewan. Eagle Hills, near Battleford, was reached, built on (1779), and abandoned (1780) owing to native attacks; a lonely adventurer named Peter Pangman arrived near the head-waters of the North Saskatchewan, saw the Rockies, carved his name upon a tree and returned (1790); and a chain of forts was erected along the river at Prince Albert,[1] Carlton House,[2] Forts George (1792),[3] Saskatchewan (1798),[4] Edmonton (1797,)[5] and the Rocky Mountains (1802)[6]. Then the way by the North Saskatchewan superseded the older and more circuitous way. The multiple northern chain was woven first; the single chain which supplanted it came second, and both chains depended partly or wholly on the Saskatchewan and North Saskatchewan.

but not via the South Saskatchewan;

A third chain might have been, but was not stretched across prairie-land along the course of the Saskatchewan and South Saskatchewan, where there were forts near Batoche (1790), and at the junction of Red Deer River (1791, 1805, 1821),[7] the latter being abandoned from time to time because of the hostility of the Blackfeet. Beyond this point no one penetrated from the east; but Peter Fiddler, of the Hudson Bay Company, darted down from Fort George on the north of the third steppe to Bow River and back (1792–3); and David Thompson or his men traced Red Deer River and Bow River down-stream from the west (1800), so that the

[1] Fort Providence.
[2] Fort Hudson Hope before 1794, Carlton House 1797.
[3] 110° 41′ W. long.
[4] Old Fort Augustus.
[5] New Fort Augustus.
[6] Rocky Mountain House.
[7] Chesterfield House.

last links in this chain were put on late in the day, and sideways or backwards. But these last links were never used as one chain.

the Assiniboine being used to go north not west and the South Saskatchewan being avoided.

Alternative first links in the same chain were, or might have been added along the Assiniboine, and its principal tributary the Qu'Appelle; but these too were never used as such. The Assiniboine was chiefly used for circulating round and through the lakes of the first steppe. From Portage La Prairie (1794) men went by White Mud River (1799), Birtle Creek (1801), the junctions of the Assiniboine with the Souris (1797),[1] and with the Qu'Appelle (1790),[2] Fort Pelly (1797), Swan River, Red Deer Lake (1800), and then either by Le Pas and the Lower Saskatchewan, or by Lakes Dauphin (1775?), and St. Martin (1797), back to Lake Winnipeg, and their starting place; and at all of these points there were forts at or before the dates mentioned. All, or nearly all the adventurers revolved in a circle, only a little larger and better held than under the French régime. There was no systematic advance along the Souris or the Qu'Appelle, although isolated visitors reached the Missouri from the Souris on horseback and returned; and an advanced post was stationed near Qu'Appelle on the Qu'Appelle and withdrawn (1804). Through-ways were waterways; yet the through-way along the Qu'Appelle and South Saskatchewan, which seems so obvious to students of Professor Hind (1860), was shunned, and Sir John Palliser wrote that west of Qu'Appelle Fort 'the whole country in this latitude is untravelled by the white man' and therefore 'unknown.' (1857).[3] Only one route was used across the whole of prairie-land from east to west, and that was the water-route by the Saskatchewan and North Saskatchewan. Canadian instincts, which clave to one long water-way, with many short cuts,

[1] Stone Indian River House.

[2] Fort Espérance, near Fort Ellice.

[3] *Accounts and Papers*, 1859, Secs. 2, vol. xxii, p. 653; Palliser's *Report on Explorations*, &c., p. 14.

preferred this route and made it supreme, at all events until 1870. Before that date men thought exclusively in water; thus the east of prairie-land seemed spacious to them because it presented an uninterrupted water-base 300 miles long from north to south; and, west of the large lakes, lines of movement seemed narrowing and tapering towards the North Saskatchewan. Capitals were water-capitals. At the lower end of the base, Winnipeg, being a ganglion of waterways and portages to the north, east, south, and west, was important; and at the apex, Edmonton, being a similar ganglion for Athabasca Landing, Peace River (via Lesser Slave Lake, 1799), and the sources of the Athabasca and of both Saskatchewans, rivalled Cumberland as a water-junction. Le Pas, Prince Albert, and Battleford were not only water-junctions, but fords for horses; and horses supplemented boats in a way unknown in Eastern Canada. Posts, where men exchanged boats for horses, became even more important than fords; and Prince Albert, Carlton House, and Battleford became starting-points and goals for short cuts—or, rather, long rides—either across the bed of the North Saskatchewan, or in later times from the Saskatchewan, to the Swan River, Assiniboine, and Qu'Appelle, at Forts Pelly, Ellice, and Qu'Appelle. These long rides over treeless levels often exceeded two hundred miles, and must not be confused with the portage roads of Eastern Canada, which seldom exceeded ten miles, and were always artificially cleared, although the effects produced on history were similar.

Settlers followed similar water routes,

The belief that the development of prairie-land must proceed along rivers and lakes and their banks affected history. The permanent settlement of prairie-land by men who were not hunters began in 1871, but for twelve years or more dawn had been visible, and sixty years ago there had been a false dawn. The settlements of the real settlers, like those of the hunters, concentrated on the river-banks near Winnipeg; but there were also the germs of settlements on the Saskatchewan

and North Saskatchewan. The first real settlers were Lord Selkirk's colonists, isolated 'freemen', and the immigrants of the Seventies.

e.g. Lord Selkirk's settlers, 1812, &c.,

Of Lord Selkirk's colonists, some came from Sutherlandshire and Sligo to Hudson Bay, and then southward by Hayes River and Lake Winnipeg to Winnipeg (1812 et seq.), and others were Swiss mercenaries who fought for Canada, and came thence westward by Lake Superior, Rainy Lake, and Lake of the Woods, to German Creek[1] above Winnipeg. In winter these settlers usually flitted for food to Pembina across the border, and most of them soon fled for good, the British flying by the usual waterways to Eastern Canada, and the Swiss flying up the Red River to Dakota (United States) (1825). Thus two human currents met in Winnipeg from afar, and retired different ways, leaving deposits behind.

and French and Scotch freemen at or near Winnipeg,

Then two other currents set in from the eastern and northern waterways, and bore 'freemen' to Winnipeg. French-Canadians, after serving in prairie-land with Canadian masters (1732 et seq.), used to marry Indian wives and beget half-breeds, and settle where there was fish, fowl, fun, and salt, and not further than could be helped from bison. As in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Newfoundlanders touched at Waterford, and hired cheap indentured Irish servants, of whom they had a monopoly; even so, after 1711, Hudson Bay factors touched at the Orkneys and indentured and monopolized cheap Scotch servants, and when the Hudson Bay Company invaded prairie-land, the Orkneymen did what the French-Canadian servants did, when their indentures expired, after Lord Selkirk had shown the way. All these freemen farmed or pretended to farm along the banks of the Red River for a few miles—Scotchmen west and French-Canadians east, and the banks of the lower Assiniboine—Scotchmen north and French-Canadians south.[2] The farms were wretched, were twenty times as deep as broad, and after

[1] = River Seine. [2] Milton and Cheadle, *op. cit.*, 1862, p. 44.

1870 were replaced, even as the farms of the early Dungharee settlers around Sydney (New South Wales) were replaced by the law of the survival of the fittest. Houses straggled with long gaps as far as Portage la Prairie, fifty-six miles west of Winnipeg (c. 1850); Portage was regarded in 1860 as the most westerly limit of civilization, and 'the last house' lay ten miles west of it in 1872. For the sake of these settlers of a bygone age, Winnipeg became a cathedral city for Roman Catholics (1822) and Anglicans (1849). After 1859, a few traders settled at Winnipeg from the United States.

From 1859 to 1871 newspapers (1859), mails (1864), the first Governor (1869), steamers (1870), Commissioners (1870), Sir William Butler (though a member of the Red River Expedition) (1870), Fenians, food, travellers, telegraphs, (1871), Hudson Bay Company's stores, everything came from the United States to Winnipeg.[1] Commercially Winnipeg was an appanage of the United States and owed its growth in the Seventies to this fact.

(which began to depend wholly on Minnesota, 1857,)

In these longitudes the Americans of the United States were a quarter of a century ahead of the Canadians, and the latter sometimes shone with the reflected prosperity of the former. Almost continuous prairie stretched westward from near Chicago, and Germans and Scandinavians were pouring in solid masses into Wisconsin in the Forties and into Minnesota in the Sixties.[2] St. Paul's, Minnesota, was also a Mississippi port, and a steamer bore Lawrence Oliphant thence southward in 1854. In 1870, and even afterwards, St. Paul's was the rich uncle and patron, Winnipeg the lonely orphan. Civilization at Winnipeg was composed of many opposing types, which met there beneath the shadow of many churches, and looked for material help exclusively to the United States.

Freemen had not only cathedrals and churches at Winnipeg,

and near or at Prince Albert and Edmonton,

[1] Alex. Begg, *The Creation of Manitoba*, 1871; *The Great Canadian North-west*, 1881.

[2] L. Oliphant, *Minnesota* (1855), p. 158, &c.; J. G. Kohl, *Travels*, 1861, vol. i, pp. 321–2; Sir W. Butler, *Great Lone Land*, 1873, pp. 53, 89, &c.

but mission churches at Lac la Biche, Lac St. Anne, and Victoria, which are over fifty miles north, west, and east of Edmonton respectively; afterwards at St. Albert, nine miles north of Edmonton (1859), and lastly at Edmonton (1872), which became their chief resort. There were also freemen at Prince Albert, whither Scotch and English missions attracted them in the Sixties. Nor were missions mere concentration camps; but the missioners did for prairie-land what the monks did for mediaeval Europe by teaching cultivation of the soil. As in the south-east corner, so in the north-west corner of the great oblong of prairie-land, economic dependence upon the United States began and grew. Fort Benton on the Missouri (United States) had a steam-service to the Mississippi in 1857. In 1863 miners reached Bow River from the west, and while prospecting were refreshed from Fort Benton. In 1870 Edmonton sent fur thither; and whisky sellers came thence to the Belly, where they built 'Fort Hamilton' near Lethbridge.[1] Before 1875 a Fort Benton firm began to trade at what was afterwards Calgary, midway between Edmonton and Lethbridge. Thus Americans began to trace the third line of the oblong and to open a new trade route along it; and Fort Benton became the back door, just as St. Paul's was the front door of the Canadian prairie-land.

(Edmonton becoming dependent on Montana).

Shortly before 1870 predictions were rife as to the channels along which population would flow to and between these fixed points. Palliser (and Hind) held that there were 'no means of access' to the Red River, 'save those via the United States'—that is to say, via the Red River;[2] George Dawson, who, ever since 1859, had been prospecting and trying to perfect roads over portages between Winnipeg and Lake Superior, championed this route, and held that civilization would after reaching Winnipeg flow down the Red River

All writers believed in water-routes and some in U.S. routes only.

[1] Sir W. Butler, *Great Lone Land*, ed. 1873, pp. 375 et seq. *Accounts and Papers*, 1864 (401), *Correspondence respecting Sioux*, vol. xli, p. 597.

[2] *Accounts and Papers: Further Papers* (2732), 1860, vol. xliv, p. 5.

Valley and up the Saskatchewan and North Saskatchewan to its sources beyond Edmonton, to which there would also be access by the American trade-route from the south;[1] and Hind and Blakiston urged the superior attractions of an alternative route from Winnipeg up the Assiniboine, down the Swan, up the Red Deer, and down the Carrot Rivers to the Saskatchewan. All believed in water, few in the Qu'Appelle, fewer in the South Saskatchewan, and no one in the open prairie, as the line of progress. They accounted for three external sides of the oblong, but not for the fourth side, which is dry land and follows the frontier. Their gods were gods of river and woodland, and they were sure that the prairie would be skirted on the north, east, and west, and scouted except for pastoral purposes.

Then Wolseley's expedition destroyed dependence on the U.S., 1870;

Then four events occurred which turned these predictions awry, or fulfilled them with a difference. These four events were the Red River Expedition (1870), the establishment of the Royal North-West Mounted Police (1874), the arrival of the colonists of the Seventies, and the Railways of the Eighties.

In 1870 Lord Wolseley proved that the route between Lake Superior and Winnipeg which Dawson championed was feasible for an army; and after him, Governors (1870) and bodies of immigrants from Eastern Canada (1872) came that way. Prairie-land was weaned from the United States and restored to its natural mother. In the Seventies Winnipeg once more turned its face eastward, and faced two ways, eastward and southward equally.

the Police traced the frontier to Macleod, abandoning water routes, 1874;

Military intervention was temporary, but the Royal North-West Mounted Police, which was largely recruited from Lord Wolseley's officers and soldiers, was a permanent influence. The first feat of the new military police was to ride eight hundred miles from Emerson on the Red River, along the frontier, to Forts Hamilton and Macleod near the Rockies. They went boldly across the prairie, without regard to water-

[1] G. M. Dawson, *Geology and Resources*, 1875, p. 301.

courses and with compass as guide. To some extent the International Frontier Commission anticipated them; but it did not keep to Canada as the police did.[1] The police were the true white pioneers of the fourth side of the oblong, and they were urged by four political motives to do as they did. First, the War of the Sioux against whites raged in the American prairies 1862–82, and refugees and their pursuers frequently crossed the border. Secondly, the Americans between Fort Benton and Edmonton lived without law, and must be reached at all costs. Thirdly, bison were scarce, and half-breeds and Indians were moving uneasily westward towards the international frontier at Wood Mountain and Cypress Hills, where they had no right. Fourthly, it was a characteristic Canadian maxim that soldiers should be or should precede immigrants. They were meant to be, and were, the advanced guard of civilization. They proved that on the prairies there were no definite lines by which bodies of men must go, and that Geography imposed no limits. They too asserted Canadian supremacy and self-reliance; though it sounds odd that the expedition of the new Police force came to Emerson through Chicago, and on reaching Fort Macleod, which they created, drew supplies from Fort Benton. But the police became self-sufficient; they took ploughs and cows to Macleod, bought American cattle (1876) and ranched at Pincher Creek hard by (1878–9), and occupied Calgary (1875), near which the Cochrane Company introduced the first large ranches in 1881. Except in Inter-Lake-Land they went from end to end of prairie-land on horses with carts; cross-country routes between Estevan and Fort Ellice, and between their older posts at Macleod, Edmonton, and Swan River (1874), and their newer posts at Calgary (1875), Carlton (1875), Cypress Hills (1876), Qu'Appelle (1876), and Wood Mountain (1877), were patrolled. The prairies were at last conquered through and through; and old trails along

[1] *Accounts and Papers*, 1875, c. 1131, vol. lxxxii, p. 53.

river-banks, or cutting off the corners of rivers, were, if boggy or wooded, improved into roads. Theirs were the first farms on Cypress Hills (Maple Creek) and at Battleford; their head-quarters at Livingstone (Swan River), Battleford, and Regina became capitals of the North-West Provinces in 1875, 1877, and 1882; and Regina is still the capital of Saskatchewan.[1]

and colonists came in, e.g. Mennonites,

Meanwhile new colonists came in flocks and crept from point to point. First came the Mennonites, or disciples of a Frisian named Menno or Menno Simons (c. 1536), who preached doctrines similar to those of the Baptists and Quakers of to-day. War against war made them flit from country to country; some wandering to America (1661–2) and others to Prussia (1670), thence to the Lower Dnieper, the Molotchna, and the Lower Volga (1786), and thence to Manitoba (1874), where they settled in compact masses between the Red River and Pembina Mountain in the foot-prints of the Royal North-West Mounted Police; but some loitered by the way and settled in Nebraska and Kansas (United States).[2] They preserved their native language, which was Frisian, German, or Flemish, but never Russian, and reproduced the old German village, with its rundale agriculture and pastoral communism; but these survivals of the past are dying out, as they have already died out among the Mennonites of Ontario.[3] Recently they numbered upwards of 15,000[4] in Manitoba; and they still crowd the frontier, chiefly on the west, but also on the east of the Red River. Religion made them fly from conscription like the plague, and they became collective emigrants, almost by profession.

and Icelanders,

In 1876 a similar large body of Icelanders arrived, after shedding some of their members in North Dakota (United

[1] E. J. Chambers, *Royal North-West Mounted Police*, 1906.
[2] A. Brons, *Ursprung der Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten*, 1884.
[3] *Ante*, pp. 161, 173.
[4] In 1901.

States), but they came for different reasons and went different ways. They came because, until 1894, boys and girls of sixteen years of age were compelled by law to work for wages in Iceland, and girls who earned 32*s.* per annum in Iceland earned £41 per annum in Manitoba. As with the Orkneymen, the wage-rate was their goad and bait. From Winnipeg they went down stream by boat to Gimli—which in Icelandic means heaven—on the west coast of Lake Winnipeg. There they cut down trees—though most of them now saw trees for the first time—minded cattle and sheep, and fished, and there are still 3,000 Icelanders near Gimli, all or nearly all of whom are bilingual and speak better English than any other foreigners in Canada; but most of the Icelanders have scattered throughout Manitoba, some northward to the Grassy Narrows of Lake Winnipeg, and others westward to the west shore and Narrows (1888) of Manitoba Lake; some near the frontier at Grunde (1881 et seq.) learned and taught agriculture to their fellow countrymen at Gimli (before 1895); and the intellectuals leavened the cosmopolitan city of Winnipeg.

on the north of Red River Valley, and west of it on the frontier;

National colonies, composed of Scandinavians or Germans, were already common on the American prairies,[1] and there were massed Mennonites in Ontario; but an exclusive Icelandic settlement was a complete novelty. The Icelanders are still in the van of real settlers on the west coast of Lake Winnipeg, and they who flew first flew furthest down the Red River Valley. The Mennonite settlements on the frontier were, on the other hand, but a beginning of westward expansion, which left Pembina Mountain behind it in 1876, and lined Rock Lake and the edge of the Souris Plain in 1878–9, French-Canadians from the United States (1878)[2] and Icelanders (1881)[3] carrying on where German Mennonites left off.

[1] *Ante*, p. 223, note 2.
[2] At St. Alphonse, St. Léon, &c.
[3] At Grunde Baldur, &c.

and other colonists followed the Assiniboine as Hind predicted.

The main stream of development lay north of the colonists of the frontier and south of the colonists of the large lakes. West of Portage La Prairie, Rapid City (1877), which was colonized direct from England, Birtle (1879), Odanah, Minnedosa (1879–80), Shell River (1879–80),—half-way between Forts Ellice and Pelly—and Red Deer River (1879–80)[1], near Carrot River, marked the direction; and it was the same direction which Hind and Blakiston foretold.

Railways then began to create towns, e.g. Emerson, Selkirk and Brandon, and waterways were comparatively of no account,

Then three towns were built which proved that a new force had appeared whose workings had not been foretold. Emerson (1875)[2] on the frontier was the first pure railway town, attaining its zenith in 1879, when the first Manitoban railway was completed between Winnipeg and St. Paul's (United States). It was the gateway from the South. Selkirk (1875)[3] was the second pure railway town, and would have been the gateway from the east, had not Winnipeg, fearing eclipse, offered to build a railway bridge over the Red River (1879), and so lured the Canadian Pacific Railway to Winnipeg, although Winnipeg is out of the direct way to its far western goal. By means of this bridge Winnipeg supplanted Selkirk as the gateway between east and west. Then a third railway town sprang into life. In 1879 it was decided that the Canadian Pacific Railway should pass south of Lake Manitoba (instead of across its Narrows), and so to Edmonton. Two years later plans were re-shuffled; and its present course, which is a long way south of Edmonton, was resolved upon. Immediately Brandon was transformed from an empty meadow to a town (1881).[4] Brandon was the crucial example. But for the railway there was no reason for the existence of Brandon; and men knew now that the railway could go wherever it would in prairie-land, and that men and towns would follow, in the same way as effect follows cause, or noon sunrise.

[1] Macoun, *Manitoba and the Great North-West*, pp. 94–6, 467 et seq.
[2] Population in 1906 = 900.
[3] Population in 1906 = 2,700.
[4] Population in 1906 = 10,400.

the C.P.R. after Brandon following no river but only the general direction of the Qu'Appelle and South Saskatchewan.

From Brandon westward to Calgary the Canadian Pacific Railway (1881–2) pursued a course as original as that pursued by Sir George French and his police, and equally momentous. Brandon is on the Assiniboine, but a little west of Brandon the railway takes to the open prairie until it reaches Medicine Hat, on the South Saskatchewan, more than four hundred miles away, and almost on the same minute of latitude. Its course is not an air-line, for it wanders north as though it would shadow the Qu'Appelle, and then south as though it would shadow the South Saskatchewan; and it seems to strike a compromise between the route by these two rivers and the plain prairie route on its south. As it swept westward, Moosomin, Indian Head, and Regina (1882) rose from the dust and became markets for settlers on the Qu'Appelle; and Regina, Moosejaw, Swift Current, Maple Creek Town, and Medicine Hat,[1] when they were founded (1882–3), drew the Police northward from their hill-stations on the frontier, and became centres. Between Medicine Hat and Calgary the railway followed from afar or abbreviated the long-neglected course of the South Saskatchewan. The new power was creative, conjuring up towns from nothing, and scattering men from nowhere in its wake.

Although waterways still induced settlement and were more used;

Meanwhile water exercised its old magnetic power to guide civilization. Steamers ascended the main and North Saskatchewan to Edmonton (1875), and the Assiniboine to Fort Ellice (1879); Prince Albert boasted of a steam saw-mill (1875) and attracted the half-breeds, who sold their so-called farms near Winnipeg, and settled on what they called farms, sixteen times as long as wide, between where the prongs of the South and North Saskatchewan diverge (1875). Settlers too settled on Carrot River, near Red Deer River, and between Swan River and the Saskatchewan, before 1885; on many prairie lakelets—Foam Lake, Quill Lake, and Nut Lake—

[1] Population in 1906 of these seven towns c. 1,200, 1,500, 6,200, 6,200, 600, 700, and 3,000 respectively.

one or two men lived like hermits in a desert minding cattle; and at Humboldt two women minded a telegraph station (1880), so that the historic circle of settlements round the large lakes and their immediate feeders was now widening westward across the second steppe and becoming fuller from day to day. Prince Albert[1] became a nucleus for these settlers on its east as well as on its west.

thus in Riel's rebellion, 1885,

Then Riel's rebellion broke out, and war cast its searchlight over the problems of prairie-land. The puzzle was how to get to the Mesopotamia of the half-breeds, and what should be base, rest-camp, or goal, and whether to go there by steamer, railway, or horse; and this was how the puzzle was solved.

Prince Albert was base, and soldiers used railways, prairie-cuts, and the Saskatchewan equally;

First Carlton was evacuated, and large bodies of the police galloped across the prairie from Regina by Qu'Appelle and Batoche to Prince Albert, which became the rallying-point in the war and has ever since supplanted Carlton. Then came the soldiers, all of whom used the Canadian Pacific Railway—which was then complete from Ottawa to Calgary, except for short gaps near Lake Superior—some leaving the train at Qu'Appelle, others at Swift Current, and others at Calgary, whence they marched straight across lonely prairies to Batoche, Battleford, and Edmonton respectively. Prisoners were taken straight from Batoche and Battleford to Regina. The unconventional railway was supplemented by the traditional two-hundred mile short cuts or long rides. Nor was the river neglected. The Edmonton detachment descended the North Saskatchewan or its banks to Mesopotamia, and some of them returned thence by steamer to Lake Winnipeg and Winnipeg, having completed half of their circuit of prairie-land by water or river banks. A steamer which was prepared at Medicine Hat descended the South and main Saskatchewan with supplies; and a place called Saskatoon on the South Saskatchewan, where there chanced to be one or two houses,

[1] Population in 1906 = 3,000.

received the wounded. Reliance was placed on the new railway, the older rides across the plains, and the oldest waterways; but amongst the latter, thanks to the new railway, the South Saskatchewan for the first time took its rightful place. All three methods were used in harmony with one another, and each made for Canadian unity, the railway on a large, the river on a medium, and the open prairie on a small scale—if the scale of a hundred miles to an inch may be applied. This war was the third national movement which knit prairie-land to itself and to Canada; and it was even more national than the war of 1870, and the police movements of 1874. Nevertheless, the Canadian general in command reached Winnipeg by way of Chicago. The foster-mother was still just visible in the background behind the real mother.[1]

yet main lines of development began only to follow railway lines, which were eight;

Since 1885 lines of development, except in Inter-Lake-Land, follow, unless they are followed by, a railway. The line is always from east to west except in the far west and centre where cross lines run north and south. Lines of development may therefore be learned from railway lines; and the following numbering indicates the geographical order from north to south of the six railway lines which run west. (1) The Canadian Northern Company took on the task of connecting Portage[2] with Edmonton. Between Portage and Dauphin,[3] and between the North Saskatchewan and Edmonton, it followed, or but slightly varied, the historic waterways; but between Fort Pelly and the North Saskatchewan[2] it went by the usual two-hundred-mile short cut across the prairie, to which, however, there is a circuitous variant (1 *a*), by Red Deer River, Prince Albert, and the south Saskatchewan, which shadows waterways more or less, and is the work of more than one Company. (3) South of this first through-route the

[1] Rev. R. G. Macbeth, *The Making of the Canadian West*, 2nd ed., 1905; J. Mason, *The Northwest Rebellion of* 1885, in *Can. Encyclopaedia*, by J. C. Hopkins, vol. iv, p. 519.

[2] Population in 1906 = 5,000. [3] Population in 1906 = 1,700.

Grand Trunk Pacific defies natural ways and makes straight for Edmonton (1909), and below it branch lines from Saskatoon or thereabouts to Calgary and Wetaskiwin are being built by other Companies, with equal disregard for natural features. The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway is flanked on either side by incipient railways through (2) the Yorkton[1] and (4) Pheasant Hill districts, which mimic or vary the respective courses of the Assiniboine and Qu' Appelle; and the Pheasant Hill branch now reaches Saskatoon. (5) Further south is the pioneer railway from east to west, namely, the Canadian Pacific, which now forks near Medicine Hat, and leads not only to Calgary (5 *a*), but to Lethbridge, Macleod, and Crow's Nest (5 *b*). (6) Along or near the frontier railways go from the Red River to Estevan and Alma, and thence, hugging or parallel with the Côteau, branch off to Moose Jaw and Regina. Probably the more southerly of these railways will soon be continued from the Côteau to Lethbridge in the very footprints of Sir George French. (7) Lethbridge[2] has two railways to the border, and a third railway joins it, or rather Macleod,[3] with Calgary[4] and Edmonton.[5] This railway from Macleod to Edmonton is by far the most important railway running south and north, and it follows more or less the old American trade-route of 1870. (8) The Regina-Saskatoon railway, which also goes from south to north, represents a 'short cut' often used in the war of 1885. As lines of development the six railway lines which run westward are of primary importance, and the cross lines are only of secondary importance.

only the later railways to the west being straight.

Of these routes 1, 1 *a*, 2, and 4 represent water-routes, and 7 represents a trade-route, which men foresaw; 5 *a*, 5 *b* and perhaps the idea of 5, represent water-routes which men did not foresee as the destined line of progress; 1 *b*, 8, and parts of 6 were well-known short cuts which men thought of as

[1] Population in 1906 = 1,400.
[2] Population in 1906 = 2,300.
[3] Population in 1906 = 1,100.
[4] Population in 1906 = 12,000.
[5] Population in 1906 = 14,100.

roads only, but which have proved lines of progress; much of 6, and perhaps the idea of 5, came from the frontier ride; and much of 5, and nearly all of 3, were so simple and straight that they were unexpected and came last.

The process by which settlement followed railways is self-evident and groups only will be discussed.

The one obvious characteristic feature of prairie-land, namely, its capacity to develop in any direction whatever, was unexpected; and its less obvious capacity to attract and accommodate settlers from everywhere was equally unexpected. Nowadays the former characteristic seems self-evident, but the latter still seems a paradox. Instead, then, of tracing the progress of population along the railroads, where people grew like primroses by a pathway in spring, or of tabulating results which would be out of date while these pages are passing through the press, I will note a few of the motley national groups which are scattered along the various lines of advance, and which distinguish prairie-land from the rest of Canada. Associated families, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Roman Catholic congregations, Regiments, and other social groups in eastern Canada were usually British or American, and there were two or three instances of American-German groups in Ontario; but there is nothing like the large quantity and diversity of 'colonies composed almost exclusively of persons speaking the same language and following the same social and religious customs'[1] which permeates prairie-land throughout. The dates in brackets indicate the year at or before which these groups made their earliest appearance. The lists, too, are as arbitrary and eclectic as the lists of a vagrant collector of insects or butterflies. In omitting the British element, which advanced silently and seldom in groups, the hero and more than half the story is omitted, and the reader should always keep before his imagination the following figures, which speak for themselves, and which it would be idle to encumber with commentary.

[1] *Canada: Rep. of the Commissioner for Immigration*, 1892.

The Population of British Origin preponderates :—

	Population × 1,000 *in* 1901.									
	Total	*Brit.*[1]	*French*[2]	*Ger.*[3]	*Sca.*[4]	*Russ.*[5]	*Austr.*[6]	*Others*	*Indians*	*Half Breeds*
Manitoba	255	164	16	27	12	5	9	6	6	10
Saskatchewan	26	4	1·1	4·3	·1	3·7	·5	·7	5·8	5·8
Assiniboine, E.	50	26	1·3	4·6	1·3	7·9	3·9	·9	1·2	2·9
Assiniboine, W.	18	12	·2	3	·1	·3	·4	·8	·3	·9
Total of above	94	42	2·6	11·9	1·5	11·9	4·8	2·4	7·3	9·6
Alberta	66	33	4	8	3·9	5·2	1·6	1	5·6	3·7
Total of Prairie-land[7]	415	239	22·6	46·9	17·4	22·1	15·4	9·4	18·9	23·3

[1] Includes United States of British origin.
[2] Chiefly French-Canadians.
[3] Qu. are all South Russian Germans included?
[4] Includes Icelanders.
[5] Possibly some South Russian Germans and Ruthenes are (wrongly) included. See [3] and [6].
[6] Qu. are all (Ruthene) Galicians included?
[7] Omitting what was then called Athabasca.

The Population doubled formerly every ten, latterly every five, years :—

Population × 1,000 *includes Half-Breeds, Indians, &c.*

	1871	1881	1901	1906
Manitoba	25?	66	255	366
Saskatchewan	24?	33	91	258
Alberta			73	185
Total	49	99	419	809

Men born in the British Empire are diminishing relatively to those born elsewhere :—

MANITOBA AND SASKATCHEWAN AND ALBERTA

	Born in Canada	*Elsewhere in Br. E.*	*Total Br. E.*	*Born in U. S.*	*Other foreign places*	*Total foreign*
1901	66 p.c.	12 p.c.	78 p.c.	5 p.c	17 p.c.	22 p.c.
1906	55 p.c.	15 p.c.	70 p.c.	11 p.c.	19 p.c.	30 p.c.

In the following sketches of samples of the composite minority of foreigners it should be remembered too that 'at' means 'near', and 'near' means 'fairly far off'; for the only settlements of any interest were rural, and were in townships, or groups of townships, and not in towns or villages.

(1) *Groups of settlers on the first railway include*

(1) Passing from south-east to north-west along the railroad from Portage, the Germans of Tupper (1893) are succeeded by the French Canadians of Makinak (1907) and St. Rose (1893), and the Galicians of Dauphin Lake (1897); on the direct route thence to the west (1 *b*) by Doukhobor Russians at Kamsack and Good Spirit Lake (1899), by American Icelanders at Foam Lake (1904) and Quill Lake (1906), and by Mennonites at Humboldt (1903); on the northern détour (1 *a*) by Doukhobors near Thunder Hill

(1899), Scandinavians near Duck Mountain (1903), Englishmen and Austrians towards Prince Albert, German Roman Catholics from Minnesota at Hoodoo Plains (1903), and South Russian Germans (1891), Mennonites (1893), Galicians (1893), Frenchmen (1894), Doukhobors (1899), Hungarians and Roumanians (1902) side by side with the half-breeds of Mesopotamia. Between Prince Albert and Fort Pitt, and between Carlton, and Battleford human bridges are almost finished along the old short cuts across the Great Bend of the North Saskatchewan; and between Battleford and Edmonton the architects of history set to work at either end and met midway in 1904, the Rev. I. M. Barr's Englishmen creating Lloydminster from the east (1903–4); and Moravians (1892), Galicians (1892), and Scandinavians (1896) starting the work from the west at Brudersheim, Wostock, and Edna respectively. Of these experiments in wholesale national colonizing the Galician and Doukhobor experiments were the most striking and original.

Galicians,

The Galicians are Ruthene or Little Russian peasant-farmers, of the Greek Church, from Galicia in Austria, where for many centuries Roman Catholic Polish nobles and townsmen outnumbered and oppressed them. Thus they were compelled to acknowledge Papal supremacy, and to call themselves 'Uniats', so that they might be severed from communion with their 'orthodox' Russian relations. But religion only aggravated a feud which was essentially racial and social, and the trek to the Canadian prairie-land which only began in 1892 sometimes brings more than 5,000 immigrants in a year.[1] The immigrants were nearly all farmers of small farms, which they sold in order that they might emigrate; they are especially valuable where woods have to be cleared or labourers are wanted, and their adaptability to British ways and speech equals that of the better Mennonites,

[1] See *Law Reports*, 1908, Appeal Cases, p. 65, Zacklynski *versus* Polushie.

is only excelled by that of the Icelanders, and far excels that of the Doukhobors. Moreover, unlike the Mennonites and Doukhobors, they are individualistic; nor is their religion peculiar, like the religion of the Doukhobors.

and Doukhobors;

The Doukhobors are pure Russian heretics, who lived before 1841 on the Molochnia River, near the Mennonites, whose pacific tenets they exaggerate. They are ultra-Quaker and ultra-anarchist; but anarchism generally implies despotism, and since 1775 or thereabouts they have been led by a hereditary Messiah, the present Messiah basing his claim on the alleged adultery of his mother with the last Messiah but one. His name is Peter Verigin; he is a cultured disciple of Count Tolstoi, whose writings he often repeats as his own, and his influence is beneficent and almost supernatural. In 1841 these sectarians were removed from South Russia to the Caucasus; whence conscription, disputes about the Messiah, and Count Tolstoi's influence caused the removal of over 7,000 in one year to prairie-land, which they occasionally enliven with pilgrimages as nude and unintelligible as the pilgrimages of lemmings. But they are high-minded enthusiasts for a purer religion; and they repudiate, because, as a rule, they are too good for political constraint. They began by being communists; but their communism is breaking down on Thunder Hill and in the Mesopotamia of the Saskatchewan, as was once the case on the Molochnia; and near Kamsack their arrangements for buying from and selling to the outside world are indistinguishable from those of co-operative producers elsewhere. The position of Kamsack is between Fort Pelly and the Yorkton settlements, which were already populous, before they arrived in prairie-land.[1]

(2) Groups of settlers on the second railway include

(2) Roman Catholics from Hungary came to Hun's Valley (1885, 1892), Scandinavians to new Scandinavia (1885), Galicians to Ranchevale (1905) on or near Riding Mountain;

[1] A. Maude, *A Peculiar People: The Doukhobors*, 1905; J. Elkinton, *The Doukhobors*, 1903; Robert Pinkerton, *Russia*, 1833, pp. 165-187.

Austrian (1885) and South Russian Germans (1891) came to Beresina, Icelanders to Logberg (1886), Bavarians to Landshut (1889), Hungarians to Otthon (before 1895); Crofters (1890) and Patagonian Welshmen (1902–3) settled near Saltcoats; South Russian Germans (1888), Galicians (1897), American Poles (1898), and Hungarians (1898) settled near Yorkton; Danes settled at New Denmark (1890) and German Americans at Sheho (1891), further west along the second railway-line. As to these colonists, the Hungarians were the first of their kind in prairie-land, but their chief centre now is among the hills at Esterhazy. Religion, and what a writer calls 'Magyar Ethnophagy', were potent causes of Hungarian emigrations, of which there were many earlier instances in Pittsburg, Cleveland, and elsewhere in the United States. The Welshmen were re-emigrants. After living for over thirty years in Patagonia,[1] which they irrigated, Spanish economic and political pressure induced J. Dyke to lead a colony from this colony to prairie-land. The easternmost of these multifarious colonies have, as time went on, leaned more on corn than on cattle; and in 1903 the Commissioner for Immigration wrote that 'at Yorkton ranching will soon be a thing of the past'.

Hungarians,

and Welshmen;

(3) As to the third line, in 1906 pastoral was changing to agricultural occupation on the Touchwood Hills; Saskatoon began steam-ploughing in 1904, its population rose from 113 to 3,011 between 1901 and 1906, and it is rapidly becoming a secondary capital like Calgary; there were American-Germans (before 1905) and French-Canadians (1907) on Tramping Lake; in 1910 German farmers came to Goose Lake; Manitou Lake became a spa; Rivers, Melville, Scott, Wainwright, Kindersley, Delisle, and other towns sprang up like mushrooms on waste land in 1909; and motorists were scouring the prairie around Tramping Lake for vast distances without let or hindrance in the same year.

(3) *Those on the third*

[1] Introduction to this Series, ch. iv, p. 29.

(4) *and fourth railways include*

(4) The fourth line passes American Finns at New Finland (1889), Hungarians at Esterhazy and Kaposvar (1888, 1892), Swedes at Stockholm (1886), Austrians at Neudorf (1890), Hungarians (1903) and Roumanian (1905) and Moldavian Jews at Pheasant and File Hills (1905), and Germans at Strassburg (1885), of whom the first and the last

American Finns,

are most remarkable; the first because they were the first Finnish settlers in prairie-land and were re-emigrants from Dakota (United States); and the last because they were not

and Germans from Russia and even Germany;

re-emigrants. Before 1899 almost all Germans who came to prairie-land were from the United States, Austria, or South Russia. Many of the American-Germans were Baptists, who left the Palatinate for America in the eighteenth century, and were akin to the German colonists of Halifax (1749 et seq.); the Austrians were often Moravians in race and religion; and the South Russian Germans were farmers on the only European lands which in any way resemble prairie-land, and being mostly Molokani, Stundists, or Baptists, were, like the Mennonites, driven from Russia by conscription and by the policy of Russifying Russia. Of them it may be said, as of the Spaniards and Anglo-Irish of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, that the internal colonization of the Old World gave rise to and supplied a pattern for the colonization of the New World. In 1895 there were fifty-two colonies of Germans in prairie-land, and now there are far more; yet even now Germans from Germany are very rare, rarer even than such Russians as are neither Jews, Germans, nor Doukhobors.

(5) *those on the fifth*

(5) On the Canadian Pacific main-line near Moosomin there were Welshmen at Kirkella (1903), Swedes at Fleming (1883), and Lady Cathcart's crofters at Wapella (1883–4)[1]; near Indian Head, German-Austrians at Josephsburg (1887) and Lord Brassey's tenants (before 1895); near Regina, South Russian and Roumanian Germans at Edenwold (1886),

[1] A. Begg, *History of the North-West* (1895), vol. iii, p. 159.

Balgonie, Davin, Josephsthal (1890), and Kronau (1892), Hungarians (of Zichy-falva) (before 1899), and Roumanians (1903); near Moose Jaw, American-Swedes (1903) and French-Canadians (1907); and near Medicine Hat, American-Germans (1889, 1903). Swift Current and Medicine Hat were, with the aid of the steam-plough, passing from the pastoral to the agricultural stage in 1905.

(6) *and sixth railways include various nationalities;*

(6) On the frontier east of the Red River, French-Canadians (1887) and Galicians (1897) almost surrounded the Mennonites of the Seventies; and beyond the Western Mennonites of 1874 Frenchmen introduced lace-making at Lourdes (1897), State-sent crofters occupied Pelican Lake (1888), and Germans Alcester (1889) near Turtle Mountain. Beyond them, again, Belgians occupied Clairière (1888), Frenchmen Deloraine (1891), Icelanders Melita (1892), Canadian-Frenchmen and American-Germans Alameda (1897) and agricultural Jews sent from Eastern Europe by the Anglo-Jewish Association, Hirsch (1894), all of which places are somewhere near Moose Mountain; while Scandinavian and other settlements at Estevan (1891), Yellowgrass, Weyburn, and Milestone (1902), all of which places are under the shadow of the Côteau, joined the frontier to Moose Jaw. West of the Côteau there is an interval; after which Wood Mountain and Cypress Hills, which are now served by the Canadian Pacific main-line, and are already or will soon be served by a more direct branch-line from Weyburn, retain their half-breed settlers, and there were large ranches here in 1903.

(7) *those on the seventh railway include Mormons, near Cardston,*

(7) The seventh line, which leads from south to north, and was once an American trade-route, witnessed a singular social experiment in its southern quarter. In 1889 Mormons from Utah, having undertaken to abjure polygamy (December, 1888), settled at Cardston[1] under C. O. Card; and after the introduction of irrigation by C. A. Magrath, new Mormon

[1] Population in 1906 = 1,000.

settlements 'sprang into existence as if by magic' at Stirling and Magrath (1899), and later at Raymond (1902),[1] whose speciality is beet. Americans not from Utah have recently been farming at Spring Coulée, between Raymond and Cardston, near Lethbridge, and in the coal-district, where Hungarians (1896) and others assist. At Pincher Creek—the earliest ranching centre in Alberta—'the sound of the hammer and ring of the anvil resounded all the year (1900) through the streets'—and agriculture superseded ranching between 1901 and 1905. Near Calgary[2] Cochrane, the second ranch-capital of Alberta (1881), underwent the same transformation in 1907, when one hundred square miles were converted from pastoral to agricultural uses. Further north, Scandinavians occupied Olds and Svea (1893); American Icelanders (1888) and American Finns (1904) occupied Red Deer[3]; European Germans or Swiss, and French-Canadians occupied Stettler (1907); American (?) Germans occupied Lacombe[4] (1894); Welshmen Ponoka (before 1907), Swedes New Sweden (1892), American and South Russian Germans Wetaskiwin (1892),[5] Germans and Scandinavians (1896) Stoney Plains, South Russian German Baptists (1893) and Galicians (before 1905) Leduc and Rabbit Hills—which bring us close to the twin capitals of Alberta, Strathcona cum Edmonton, which face one another from either side of the North Saskatchewan in the same way as St. Boniface and Winnipeg face one another on either side of the Red River. The North Saskatchewan is finer, and its banks nobler, than those of the Red River; but Edmonton[6] is more distant than Winnipeg[7] and its history is more recent—for Winnipeg was at least a village in 1879, which Edmonton was not, and Winnipeg is as much more opportune as it is less picturesque than Edmonton; so that perhaps it is premature to compare

others at ranching and other centres,

up to Edmonton.

[1] Population in 1906 = 400, 900, and 1,600 respectively.
[2] Population in 1906 = 12,000.
[3] Population in 1906 = 1,400.
[4] Population in 1906 = 1,000.
[5] Population in 1906 = 1,650.
[6] Population in 1906 = 14,100.
[7] Population in 1906 = 95,000.

them. Water and railways conduced to their pre-eminence; Edmonton, in consequence of its railway, diverting the northern fur-trade from Cumberland to itself. Father Morin has of late years been indefatigable in bringing back French-Canadians from the United States to the neighbourhood of Edmonton.

The eighth line is American.

(8) This railway line is peopled largely by British-Americans, many of whom are Canadian by origin or descent.

Colonization of prairie-land differs from that of Eastern Canada.

The colonization of prairie-land differs from that of Eastern Canada in the absence of soldier and sailor settlers, and of a war or of an industrial revolution at home; in the presence of returned emigrants from the United States, and in the wider area from which groups of associated families are drawn. In prairie-land, Icelanders and Scandinavians, as well as Highlanders and Islanders, represent the clan; Americans from the Western as well as the Eastern States represent the neighbourhood guild; Germans, who lived in the Palatinate two centuries ago, South Russian Germans, Doukhobors, Galicians, Finns, Jews, and others from Eastern Europe represent foreign victims of political and religious intolerance. Persecution enriched the New World with those denizens of the Old World, who did not agree with their environment, and North America proved the safety valve of European discontents. Prairie-land is an epitome of the modern history of all Europe, except the centre and the south; and is the result of a free trade in men, of which no European nation or thinker has ever dreamed, since the days of the Roman Empire. Cosmopolitanism originated in Pennsylvania, and is now the characteristic creed of the United States. But American cosmopolitanism has an English bias, and it is this kind of cosmopolitanism which is moulding the destinies of prairie-land.

Its cosmopolitanism tends to fusion.

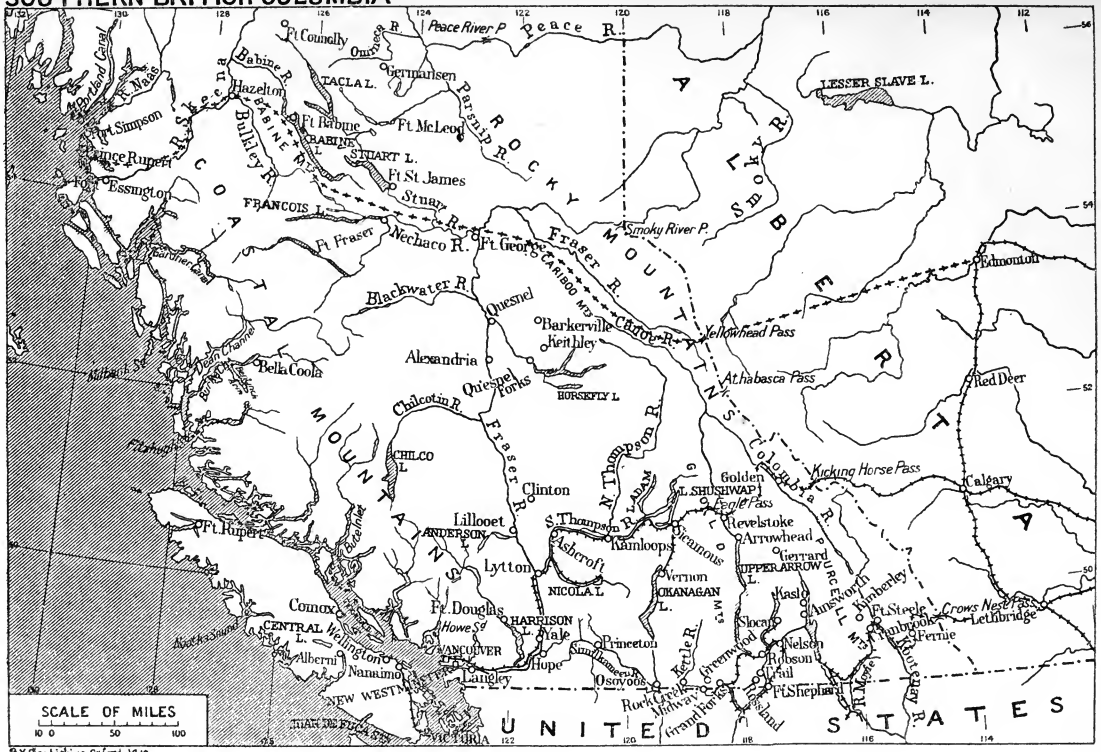
In applying cosmopolitanism to prairie-land three maxims have been observed. First, extreme types of one kind are planted near extreme types of different kinds, in order that

alkalis may neutralize acids, and something which is neither may result, and become the salt of the earth. Secondly, colonists, though introduced in groups, are planted as individual yeomen—each on his free 160-acre homestead—so that before treatment the compound is resolved, as far as may be, into colourless, self-subsisting atoms. Thirdly, Britons are superior in numbers, all-pervasive, and hold the keys of the commercial situation; so that foreigners are compelled to be bilingual, the second language being always English. It is believed that numerical, commercial, and linguistic predominance will create a new British type, like and yet unlike the Cymric, Gael, Erse, Huguenot and Danish types of the old United Kingdom; and that the thousand and one nationalities will fuse themselves in a single crucible, and will emerge British, not exactly in the sense which we know, but in a sense very like the sense which we know.

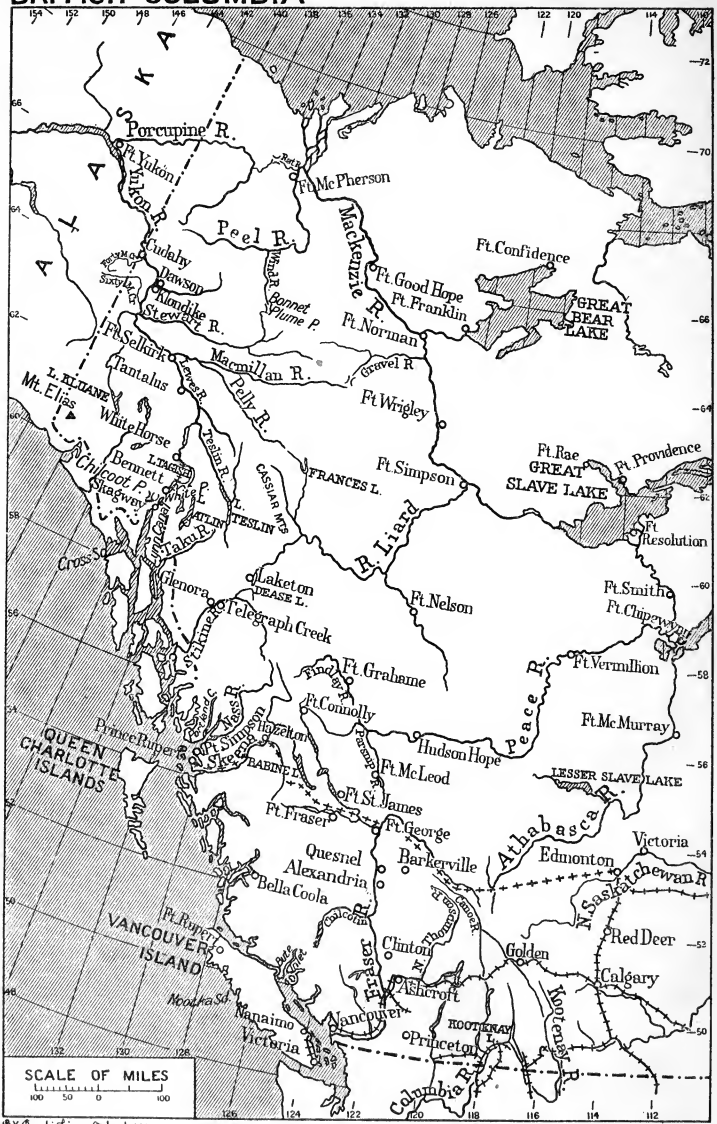
Authorities.

For descriptive works see last chapter. For the movements of population see the Annual Reports on Emigration presented before 1892 by the Ministry of Agriculture, since 1892 by the Ministry of the Interior of the Dominion of Canada. Other authorities are cited in the notes.

SOUTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA



B.V. Earbishire, Oxford, 1910


BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALASKA
Porcupine R.
Ft. Yukon
Yukon R.
Dawson
Klondike
Stewart R.
Ft. Selkirk
Macmillan R.
Pelly R.
Mt. Elias
L. KLUANE
Tantalus
White Horse
Teslin R.
Bennett
Chilkoot P.
Skagway
Glenora
Laketon
Telegraph Creek
Stikine R.
Ft. McPherson
Peel R.
Mackenzie R.
Ft. Confidence
Ft. Good Hope
Ft. Franklin
Ft. Norman
GREAT BEAR LAKE
Gravel R.
Ft. Wrigley
Ft. Simpson
FRANCES L.
Ft. Rae
GREAT SLAVE LAKE
Ft. Providence
Ft. Resolution
R. Liard
Ft. Nelson
Ft. Smith
Ft. Vermilion
Peace R.
Ft. McMurray
Hudson Hope
Ft. McLeod
LESSER SLAVE LAKE
Ft. St. James
Ft. George
Ft. Fraser
Ft. Connolly
Ft. Grahame
Finlay R.
Parsnip R.
Nass R.
Prince Rupert
QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLANDS
VANCOUVER ISLAND
Quesnel
Alexandria
Barkerville
Bella Coola
Athabasca R.
Edmonton
Victoria
N. Saskatchewan R.
Red Deer
Calgary
Golden
Clinton
Ashcroft
Fraser R.
Thompson R.
Kootenay R.
Vancouver
Nanaimo
Victoria
Princeton
KOOTENAY
Columbia R.
SCALE OF MILES
100 50 0 100
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CHAPTER X

THE FAR WEST AND NORTH-WEST, OR THE LAND OF MOUNTAINS

The Range of the Rockies separates different kinds of rivers, but is no true watershed;

EAST of the Rockies and west of the Appalachians there are no mountains in Canada, and even the wooded Appalachians are only tamer Apennines, so that the first glimpse of the wild white crowded summits of the Rockies from the east is like the revelation of a new world. They are a range, but are not like other ranges. They lie parallel with the coast. Their eastern side is gradual, and part of their gradual side consists, as we have seen, of three inclined plains 800 miles long, descending from west to east, from dais to dais, upon the topmost of which rude rocks, sharp ice peaks, and smooth snow domes, high as the Rothhorn and of every shape and hue, tower like a row of ruins. On this side the range has two great rivers; the Athabasca-Slave-Mackenzie, which follows in bold wide curves along the feet of the mountains from 100 miles above Edmonton for 1,500 miles or so right into the Arctic Ocean; and the Saskatchewan, which writhes and wriggles away from the range for 800 miles or so to the east and then makes for Hudson Bay. The western slope is steep, and western rivers, whether they belong, like the Columbia and Fraser, wholly, or like the upper Peace and Liard, partly, to the west, cling close to the skirts of the mountain for many hundreds of miles before they double back and make for the Ocean, whither they are bound. The eastern are unlike the western slopes and rivers; yet the Rockies do not form a true watershed like the Caucasus Pyrenees or Alps.

thus, eastern rivers come from be-

As we follow the Rockies to the north, rivers which are eastward-bound rise more and more to the west of the ideal line which geographers identify with the true range; the

hind it, in the north; South Saskatchewan rising before, the North Saskatchewan within, the Athabasca further within, and the Peace behind the range, and the Liard behind a range behind the range. Strangely enough, the rim which bounds the plains and big lakes of Manitoba on their west, and which lies parallel with the great range as though it were some distant shadow or projection of the range, has the same characteristic, its more northerly streams rising further and further behind it.

it was first crossed on the north, Northerly waterways went furthest west; therefore adventurers first went westward from the Peace which feeds the Mackenzie, then from the North Saskatchewan, and lastly from the South Saskatchewan. Therefore, too, those east-bound rivers, whose heads are hidden most within the folds of the mountains, yield most gold; the North Saskatchewan yielding a little, the Peace more, and the Liard most, British Columbia being the only source of this gold. Again, it was partly because so many of the affluents of the Mackenzie play fast and loose with natural barriers, that the north and north-eastern boundary of British Columbia has been changed from time to time.

and on the north it is neither watershed nor boundary.

Under an Act of 1858, the Rockies bounded British Columbia on its east, the beds of the Skeena and Findlay or Upper Peace River on its north, and the Pacific on its west.[1] Its boundaries seemed for a while wholly natural. Then it was shown that nature defied natural boundaries; an illogical compromise was struck, and the eastern boundaries of British Columbia were defined as the range of the Rockies up to lat. 54°—that is to say, up to and including the sources of the Athabasca; and north of lat. 54° as the meridian of 120°, which lies east of the range and a long way east of the watershed; while its northern boundary was defined as the parallel of 60°, apparently because that parallel is also the northern boundary of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The effect of this northern boundary is that it includes in British Columbia not only the whole of the Skeena, the Upper

[1] 21 & 22 Vict., c. 58.

Peace, and the Canadian Stikine, but also fragments of the river-systems of the Liard and Yukon, thereby producing irreparable confusion as between British Columbia and the Yukon district, especially at the junction of the Frances River with the Upper Liard, at Teslin and Atlin Lakes, and at Rainy Hollow and Bennett. Not that the confusion does harm; for these regions are very thinly populated, and the Governments of British Columbia and Yukon district are often only represented there by the Royal North-West Mounted Police, who act as their common agent. North of the 60th parallel, the eastern boundary of the Yukon district includes the Liard and its affluents west of 124° 16′ W. long., and the Peel and its affluents up to 67° N. lat., and then follows the Rockies for awhile; and it, too, is a mere artificial amalgam of natural and mathematical lines.[1]

The Range separates different kinds of country; thus on the west there are 5 high parallel ranges with metals or coal;

West of the Rockies there are nothing but high mountains in whose shadows mountain valleys hide. The mountains rise in *échelon*, like the Himalayas and Trans-Himalayas, and are parallel with one another and with their deep dividing valleys. They may be classed as five ranges or ideal lines, although the actual lines often exceed five in number:—The Rockies; an intermittent range of which the Selkirk, Babine, and Cassiar mountains are the most conspicuous examples; 'a sea of mountains', composed of waves, so to speak, from the ranges immediately on its east and west, and which narrows at one place to the Gold Range, and to the familiar Eagle Pass between Revelstoke and Sicamous; the Coast Range, which defends the coast between New Westminster and the mountains of St. Elias; and the fragmentary ridges which penetrate Vancouver, Queen Charlotte, Texada, and other islands along their longer axis, making them fish-shaped. Each of these ranges is associated with a special type of country, and each yields minerals; the gold mountains of Cariboo, and the copper and gold of Rossland, Grand

[1] Canada, *Revised Statutes*, 1906, cap. 63, Schedule.

Forks, Boundary and Trail Creeks belonging to the third class; the silver-lead of Moyie, Kimberley, and the Slocan, and the silver and gold of Nelson and the Lardeau belonging to the second class; the gold of Hedley to the fourth class, the iron of Texada to the fifth class, and the copper of the inlets and the islands to the fourth and fifth class respectively. Coal of Cretaceous Age and excellent quality makes Crow's Nest Pass in the Rockies, and Nanaimo, Wellington, and Comox, on the east of Vancouver Island, rival Cape Breton Island; while Tertiary coal is found on uplands of the fourth type near Nicola. Geologically, the first and fifth types are similar, ranging chiefly from primary to lower secondary formations; the second type has Archaean elements, and the fourth is largely intrusive granite. Tertiary volcanic elements lie over many uplands of the third class; but there are no modern volcanoes, unless, as has been surmised, the traces of lava in the valley of the Nass[1] point to an eruption a few hundred years ago. The Rockies attain 13,700 feet, the Selkirks 10,800 feet, and the island mountains 7,000 feet; on the coast St. Elias exceeds 18,000 feet, and its companion Mount Logan 19,000 feet, but they are exceptions, and the rest of the coast mountains do not often exceed 9,000 feet.

and valleys are deep, straight, and long,

In this western land the scenery is always bold, and mountains are visible everywhere barring the way; therefore valleys are, or should be, to British Columbia what they are to Switzerland, Tirol, and Scotland.

The valleys are threaded by rivers which expand into lakes, and the lakes are real deep lochs, and as unlike Lake Winnipeg as unlike can be; thus Shuswap Lake is almost as deep as Lake Ontario, and its sister lake, Lake Adam, is deeper than Lake Superior; and the great rivers are navigable from source to mouth, except where they rush through gorges, often many miles in length. The sources of the Columbia and Fraser, which are the two greatest rivers of British

e.g. the valley of the Columbia-Fraser-Peace,

[1] North of the Skeena.

Columbia, lie in the longest and most characteristic valley of British Columbia. It is about 2,500 feet above the sea, extends at least 800 miles north-west and south-east, and has at least six rivers, three of which start north-west and three south-east. The Kootenay runs south-east, the Columbia north-west, and they rise back to back; for the watershed between the two is 'a large morass', and 'it is impossible to cross even on foot between the two without going in water'[1]; but low, wet watersheds between two rivers flowing opposite ways are not rare in Canada, and may be seen in a mild version as far east as the Petitcodiac and Annapolis. The Columbia, as it flows north-west, meets the Canoe River front to front; and they two become one and pass westward, forming one of those T-shaped rivers which are common in mountainous countries, and are therefore wanting east of the Rockies. The uppermost Fraser, between which and the Canoe there is a second low short watershed, prolongs the line, flowing north-west until it reaches a third similar watershed, 2,160 feet high, on the other side of which are the Parsnip (Crooked Branch) and Finlay (Tochieca Branch), which together constitute the cross-bar of the T-shaped east-flowing Peace, and prolong the line of the Kootenay-Colombia-Canoe-and-Fraser valley, which has now reached its eight hundredth mile. Even here the valley does not wholly end, but is continued in a manner by the Kachika and Frances, which are the outstretched right and left arms of the Liard, for another two hundred miles. Frances Lake, at the extreme end of the series, is a characteristic British Columbian Lake—very deep, very narrow, hemmed in by mountains 4,000 feet above it, and splitting into parallel arms which repeat these characteristics. This immense valley, or succession of confluent valleys, lies parallel with the coast, and invites travellers to wander, and colonists to settle, not, as elsewhere in Canada,

[1] Sir James Hector in *Accounts and Papers*, 1859, Sess. 2 (vol. xxii, p. 653), p. 37.

east and west, one nearer to and another further from the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean, but up and down nine or more degrees of latitude, north-west and south-east, without coming nearer at any moment of the journey to or further from the Pacific Ocean. In this respect it differs from other main valleys in habitable Canada. Those valleys lead westward from the Atlantic to the Rockies, after crossing which this valley diverts wanderers from their quest, and sends them aimlessly to and fro, up and down the map, or would do so but for three or four great bends in the rivers and river valleys.

or 'bend' through the ranges, and over other river-lines.

First, the Kootenay dips below the frontier, bends westward, and emerges in Kootenay Lake, where it meets the River Duncan from the north—forming a second long line up and down the map, more or less parallel with the great composite valley where it rose. Here, too, it resembles a misshapen T, whose tiny stalk goes down by Nelson into the Middle Columbia at Robson. For the Columbia, in the meantime, has made its great bend, two hundred miles north of Robson, towards which it then flows south-west by Revelstoke and the Arrow Lakes, driving a third great straight furrow, about 1,500 feet above the sea, down the map. Soon after passing Robson, the Columbia passes the frontier, and the principal river of Western America, and its chief satellite, which is the Kootenay, vanish from Canadian history. Not so its lesser tributaries. In addition to the three long lines drawn lengthwise by the Columbia or Kootenay, other tributaries, or tributaries of tributaries, contribute five or six similar, but smaller, streaks to the map of British Columbia; Slocan valley between Arrow and Kootenay Lakes; then North Fork, Boundary Creek, and Kettle valleys between Arrow and Okanagan Lakes; and then the Okanagan and Upper Similkameen valleys, whose rivers join the Columbia within the United States. In each of these nine valleys history is being made.

The Columbian river-system forms 9 lines and one great bend over Kootenay Lake, &c.

The bend of the Columbia is of wider span than that of the

The Fraser 'bends'

Kootenay, but the bend of the Fraser is still wider and overarches the bend of the Columbia. The Columbia encompasses the Selkirk Mountains, but the Fraser encompasses the Cariboo Mountains, which have been described as 'a sea of mountains, 7,000 or 8,000 feet (high), and pine-clad hills,' with 'hardly a foot of level ground, except at the bottom of the narrow gullies between the hills',[1] and in which the Selkirks and other mountains are merged. Then the Fraser travels southward for 350 miles, gradually nearing, then shaving, and finally cleaving the Coast Range slantwise, for the Coast Range runs not southward but south-eastward. Meanwhile, between the pillars of this stately arch, the North Thompson, which plays towards the Fraser a part like that played by Duncan River plus Kootenay Lake towards the Columbia, traces down the map an intermediate slit from north to south, and joins the South Thompson at Kamloops, whence the South Thompson, imitating the Kootenay at Nelson, runs for once in a way due west to meet the Fraser Valley at Ashcroft, and the Fraser River at Lytton. Between Lytton and Hope the Fraser, reinforced by the Thompsons, bursts its way through the Coast Range by a mighty gorge, after which it bends once more westward and crawls lazily through fertile, flooded flats to the Ocean a little beyond New Westminster.

over the Thompsons, and through the Coast Range to the Coast.

In British Columbia the Skeena, as well as the Fraser, makes a breach in the Coast Range. In the interval of five hundred miles between these breaches, there are many passes of historic moment to which affluents of the Fraser and oceanic fiords, sounds, or inlets point from either side. Thus the Nechaco affluent leads from the top of the great bend of the Fraser towards Gardner Inlet; the Nechaco, Blackwater, and Chilcotin affluents towards Bella Coola, Dean Inlet, Burke Channel, and Fitzhugh Sound; the Chilcotin towards Homathco River and Bute Inlet; Seton and Anderson Lakes,

Between the Fraser and Skeena the Coast Range is crossed by means of passes plus fiords but not by rivers.

[1] Milton and Cheadle, *The North-west Passage by Land*, ed. 1875, p. 359.

which just belong to the Middle Fraser, by a difficult route towards Howe Sound, or by an easy route down Lillooet and Harrison Lakes and Rivers to the Lower Fraser, to which they belong, and so to the sea. The inlets are high-walled, narrow, straight, and deep; some, like Fitzhugh Sound and Bute Inlet, running due north; others north-west, like the coast; and a few, like Bella Coola and Gardner Canal, running at right angles to the predominant direction.

The Skeena pierces the Coast Range and forms with the Upper Fraser and Peace similar lines or bends.

The Skeena—about whose mouth are Port Simpson, Prince Rupert, and Port Essington—is navigable by steamers up to Hazelton, 180 miles away; beyond which three affluents join it on its left; the Bulkley, Babine, and uppermost Skeena, each of which forms, or helps to form, long valleys, stretching south-east and north-west. The Bulkley, if followed upward, is prolonged by the valley of the Endako River, which flows in the opposite direction into the Nechaco River, near Fort Fraser. Close by the sources of the uppermost Skeena, the valley of the Stuart Rivers and Lakes begins, and this valley runs parallel to the Bulkley-Endako Valley, and it too ends in the Nechaco River, fifty miles below the Endako, and fifty miles above the confluence of the Nechaco with the Fraser, near Fort George. Lake Stuart is engarlanded by mountains more than 2,000 feet above its level, and suggested to its first visitor the name of New Caledonia, by which British Columbia was known until 1858; and on its shores Fort St. James was built. Between the Stuart and Bulkley-Endako Valleys the Babine Valley intervenes, and it, too, is parallel with its sister valleys and with the coast. On the east of, and parallel with, the Stuart Valley is the valley of the Parsnip and Findlay, which is a part or continuation of the great composite valley with which we began, and into which all ways seem to lead back. On the Parsnip (Crooked River Branch) Fort Macleod was built, and forthwith Forts St. James, Macleod, Fraser, and George wielded joint dominion over British Columbia on behalf, first, of the North-West Company, then (1821) of the

Hudson Bay Company. If the Findlay River is followed further to the north-west, some of its tributaries curl round towards the uppermost Skeena, which also curls round towards them; so that on ill-drawn maps the two curves almost meet like some broken, far-off reflection of the perfect arches formed further south by the Fraser and Columbia. This false curve used to round off British Columbia on old maps; and the Skeena and Findlay, or their basins, were the northern boundaries of British Columbia in the Act of 1858.[1] But the boundary was impossible, because amongst other things it ignored the Nass, which enters the sea north of the Skeena and is wholly British. Indeed, the Nass is the last of the wholly British rivers.

The Stikine interlocks with the Liard which leads to the Yukon, though belonging to the Mackenzie;

A little north of the mouth of the Skeena is a north-pointing fiord, called Portland Canal, which divides the British and Alaskan or American possessions. Beyond the canal there are many rivers which are of vital importance to Canada, such as the Stikine (near Cross Sound), which is navigable by steamer up to Glenora and Telegraph Creek (138 miles). Telegraph Creek lies behind the Coastal Range, and a 62½ mile pack-trail leads thence along the river-banks and over a watershed, 2,730 feet high, to Dease Lake and Dease River, which is a tributary of the Liard, which is a tributary of the Mackenzie; and on Dease Lake is Laketon, the centre of the so-called Cassiar mining district. The Liard is easily reached from Laketon by the placid waters of the river Dease, and the spot where the Dease and Liard meet is a junction, if so lonely a spot can be called a junction, not only for the Mackenzie on the east, but for the great long valley of the Peace, Fraser, and Columbia on the south, and for Lake Frances and the Pelly on the north and west, the Pelly being a tributary of the Yukon. North of the Stikine, the Taku enters the Pacific offering difficult access to Lakes Atlin and Teslin, which belong to the Yukon river-system, and which

and the Taku and Lynn's Canal lead to the Yukon.

[1] *Ante*, p. 248.

can also be reached from Glenora. After the Taku a straight north-pointing fiord, called Lynn's Canal, offers the shortest way either over the Chilcat, or the Chilcoot, or the White Pass, to the Yukon District. Here, too, or hereabouts, there are minglings of glacier and sea which are wilder than on the Jökul Fjeld in Norway. But north-west of Portland Canal, Canada is as clean cut off from the sea as coastless Abyssinia. The coast-strip beyond Portland Canal is part of Alaska, and therefore the Lower Stikine, the Lower Taku, Lynn's Canal, and the southern slopes of the White, Chilcoot, and Chilcat Passes, are American; while the Upper Stikine, the Upper Taku, the northern slopes of these passes, and all the sources of the Yukon River are Canadian.

There are two river-ways to the Yukon by Lynn's canal,

and the mouth of the Yukon,

and five byways overland

The one way which has superseded every other way to the mineral region of Yukon District lies by Lynn's Canal and the White Pass, for the White Pass soon eclipsed the Chilcat and Chilcoot Passes. The front door of the treasure-stores of the north is owned and guarded by foreigners; or, let us rather say, Canada's big brother keeps the key. The mouth of the Yukon in Bering Sea is the back door to Yukon District, and is wholly American. The following side-doors are wholly Canadian. One side-door is at Telegraph Creek on the Stikine, from which there is a trail to Lake Atlin, along the telegraph-wires, or to Lake Teslin—along what was once a projected railroad—both lakes being part of the Yukon water-system. Telegraph Creek itself is reached by the wires direct from Fort Fraser near the bend of the Fraser, via Hazelton on the Skeena. A second side-passage is from Telegraph Creek by Laketon, the Liard, Frances, and Pelly; and a third uses the same three rivers, but starts from Edmonton and the Mackenzie. A fourth ascends Peel River (Wind River Branch), and crosses either Bonnet Plume or Braine Pass to the Stewart, which flows into the Yukon a little above the Klondike; and a fifth comes from Peel River (Rat Branch) to the Porcupine, which flows into the Yukon in Alaska. As to

these two first by-routes, the first route was made an eight-foot trail by the Royal North-West Mounted Police in 1907, and three hundred cattle once came overland from the Fraser to Laketon, but travellers almost invariably sail to Telegraph Creek up the Stikine, that is to say through the territory of the United States. The tortuous and arduous Middle and Lower Liard makes the third route difficult. The other routes start from the Arctic Circle, one encroaching on Alaska. Therefore the front door is the only door which Canadians use.

The White Pass route to Klondike is along the Yukon,

After passing Lynn's Canal, Skagway, and White Pass, the traveller reaches Bennett, which belongs to British Columbia. The tangle of Lakes near Bennett—Lakes Bennett, Tagish, and Atlin—are reservoirs of one arm of the Lewes, as the Upper Yukon is called; and Teslin Lake, which is further east, is the reservoir of Teslin River, which is the other arm of the Lewes. Except for three miles near Whitehorse, the whole Yukon is navigated by steamers from Bennett to its mouth, 2,000 miles away, during the three ice-free months. It is a shallow river, although it has great tributaries, especially from the east. At Selkirk the Pelly joins it, and it ceases to be called the Lewes and is thenceforth called the Yukon. If the Teslin may be regarded as the main stream, the Yukon flows straight north-westward from Teslin Lake to Selkirk. Between Selkirk and the mouths of the White River, which comes from the St. Elias Glaciers, and of the Stewart River, which comes from the Rockies, and of the little river called Klondike, which joins it at Dawson, the Yukon is crooked, but its general direction is the same. Between Dawson and what was once Fort Yukon, at the junction of the Porcupine, it again flows straight north-west. Here, having touched the Arctic Circle, it wheels round towards a more genial sea than that towards which it was moving hitherto. In its course through Canada it preserves the characteristic British Columbian trend, which is the trend of the Rockies and the Mackenzie. But it is the last to do

which is the last of the great Canadian Rivers.

so and has no imitators; and on leaving Canada it desists, swerves round, and makes towards Asia. If rivers of one country may be compared with those of another, the St. Lawrence recalls the Nile, the Mackenzie recalls the Ob, or Yenisei; and the rivers of British Columbia combine the longitudinal parallelism of the Salween, Mekhong, and Dichu, with the bendingness of the Yellow, Congo, or Niger; but perhaps there are no true parallels in geographical contours any more than there are in historical events.

The valleys of British Columbia are characteristic,

Terraced valleys are also characteristic of the Kootenay, Columbia, Fraser, and every other main river-valley of British Columbia. Thus near Ashcroft the Fraser has three visible tiers about 80 feet, 110 feet, and 400 feet above, and each on both sides of the present bed; and Lake Frances, 900 miles away, has two clear terraces each on both sides, 90 feet and 300 feet high respectively. One supposed explanation is that the present valleys were scooped out to their present depths in the Tertiary Age; then the Glacial Age filled them with rubble; then the rubble was swept away at different periods in two or three successive stages. Pre-glacial river-beds are still found choked with rubble, which is the chief source of placer gold in the Cariboo Mountains.

so are its trees,

British Columbia possesses not only mountains, rivers, and valleys, but also trees different from those of the rest of Canada. The Douglas Fir[1] is sometimes as high as the North Tower of the Crystal Palace, and its lowest branches are higher than the Crystal Palace roof; within the trunk of a red cedar[2] a whole family might live in comfort; and the hemlock[3]—which is the particular glory of Queen Charlotte Islands—and the white spruce[4] are akin to the Douglas Fir, and the yellow cedar[5] is akin to the red cedar. The Douglas Fir, like the black pine,[6] overlaps the Rockies from the Yellow-

[1] *Pseudotsuga Douglasii.*
[2] *Thuya gigantea.*
[3] *Tsuga mertensiana.*
[4] *Picea (Abies) Sitchensis.*
[5] *Thuya excelsa.*
[6] *Pinus Murrayana.*

head Pass to the south, but none of these trees exists far north, except the black pine, which flourishes beside Frances Lake, and on the left bank of the Yukon at Selkirk. The forests are as dense as splendid. A writer describes Alberni in Vancouver Island thus: 'The density of the forest is marvellous: . . . one mile in four hours was very quick work.' Elsewhere, 'The forest was composed of enormous cedar, and spruce, 300 feet high at least; . . their lowest branches had died or were lifeless and covered with long matted moss. Overhead the thickness of black branches met far away and seemed gently to sway with some distant breeze. There was nothing green or young in this forest. The colouring was that of old, tarnished silver-gilt.'[1] The British Columbian trees, mountains, valleys, and rivers, are on a grand scale. Prairie-land is the world's greatest corn-land, British Columbia is one of its two or three greatest tree-lands.

plants, climate,

Climate, of course, affects plants. In Yukon, Fort Cudahy barracks were built by the North-West Police on two feet of moss; Dawson was a marsh, and miners find the earth frozen at four foot deep. Nevertheless the wild rose blooms at Dawson, and early pioneers found grass and pasture for their horses on the sunny side of the river-banks. The climate is dry, and glacial traces are few. In the far south of British Columbia there is a strange alternation from wet to dry land. The coast is wet. In one year there were 64 inches of rain on the Lower Fraser, and 71 inches at Port Simpson; behind the Coast Range there were 8 inches at Kamloops, and 8 at Barkerville; the Selkirks were very wet indeed, and behind them again there were 10 inches only on the Upper Kootenay. These dry strips surprise the traveller with the spectacle so common in Europe, and so strange in Canada, of hills which are thinly dotted with hardy trees,[2] or are wholly bare, not because they are too high, but because they are too dry.

[1] F. MacNab, *British Columbia*, 1898, pp. 190–1 (abbreviated quotation).

[2] *Pinus ponderosa.*

On the westernmost dry strip, which extends from Kamloops up to Stuart Lake more or less, and down by Okanagan to the frontier, the hopes of graziers, farmers, and fruiterers are fixed; or rather on those parts of the strip where there are valleys or where the sea of mountains is comparatively calm. Farms flourish up to 2,500 feet and cattle up to 3,500 feet s. m., but irrigation is as necessary here as dykes and dams are in the Lower Fraser.

fauna,

Mountain-sheep[1] and reindeer or caribou roam over the whole country, and grizzly bears over the whole mainland. The coyote[2] is a bond between prairie-land and parts of British Columbia; so are the elk or moose,[3] and red deer or wapiti,[4] which survive on the Arctic slope and in Vancouver Island respectively. There are no bison west of the Rockies, although Sir A. Mackenzie and David Thompson saw bison just west of the Passes which they crossed. There were, or are, fur-seals[5] on the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and sea-otters[6] in every inlet; while innumerable salmon still frequent every river from the Naas to the Fraser.

and Indians.

There are far more Indians of different stock in British Columbia than elsewhere in the whole of Canada. Everything north of Nelson River in Hudson Bay, the Yellowhead Pass, and the headwaters of the Chilcotin affluent of the Fraser, belongs to the Chipewyan Athapascan or Déné race,[7] if recent Cree invaders between Edmonton and the Peace, still more recent Iroquois colonists at the Yellowhead, and the occupants of the coast are excepted. Eskimos occupy the coast from Churchill (Hudson Bay), by the Arctic and North Pacific Oceans, to St. Elias (Yukon). On the coast line south or east of St. Elias, Eskimos are succeeded by Tlinkits near Bennett, by Haidas on Queen Charlotte Islands, by Tsimp-

[1] *Ovis Canadensis.*
[2] *Canis latrans.*
[3] *Alces Americanus.*
[4] *Cervus Canadensis.*
[5] *Latax Lutris.*
[6] *Otaria ursina.*
[7] e. g. Sikanni, Carrier, Chilcotin, Babines, &c., in British Columbia.

seans near Port Simpson and the Skeena, by Kwakiutl-Nootkas from Gardner Canal to Bute Inlet (except at Bella Coola and Dean inlets) and on Vancouver Island (except near Victoria), and by Salish[1] near Victoria, and on Bella Coola and Dean inlets. Salish also occupy the Lower Fraser, the Middle Fraser, the North Thompson, the South Thompson and the Middle Columbia, and Kootenays occupy the Upper Columbia and Kootenay. Probably these six nations are as different from one another as Algonquins are from Chipewyans; yet these two nations cover vast masses of land over two-sevenths of the earth's circumference; and those six nations are crammed into the western coast, and along the southern frontier of a single British province.

Mountains and fiords split the Indians into isolated fragments. Not that the fragments were ever sedentary. Thus the Haidas periodically visited the mainlands, and the Shuswaps the Yellowhead. But their area and their ideas of movement were 'cabin'd, cribbed, confined' by the grandeur of their mountains and the intricacy of their shore line.

[1] Shuswap, Okinakan, Kawitchin, &c.

CHAPTER XI

THE PEOPLING AND CIVILIZATION OF THE FAR WEST

Russians, Spaniards, Englishmen, Americans, Canadians, and Frenchmen discovered B. C. from Asia, east and west America, Cape Horn, the South-West Pacific and Europe, 1741–95,

THE white men who first landed in British Columbia brought with them the memories of Siberia, Spain, France, the Pacific Islands, India, China, and every country except Canada. Vitus Bering, a Dane in Russian service, sailed from Okhotsk, and saw and named Cape (and Mount) St. Elias (1741), which separates Yukon from Alaska, and Russian traders followed him to the Aleutian bridge of islands between Asia and America. When Captain Cook reached Nootka and Cross Sounds (1778) from the Cape of Good Hope and Australia, Don Juan de Ayala and J. F. de la Bodega, who were Spaniards, had already reached Cross Sound from Mexico (1775),[1] and the Russians had already reached Kadiak, which is this side of the Aleutian bridge (1776). After Cook, Russian traders occupied Kadiak (c. 1784) and Alaska (c. 1792); La Pérouse, after doubling Cape Horn, visited Cross Sound on behalf of France (1786); Captain J. Hannah (1785), Captain Barclay (1787), Commander John Meares (1788), and other Englishmen traded between London, India, Nootka Sound, and China; and there was a London merchant named Brown in Portland Canal before 1793. Meanwhile, New England traders sailed round Cape Horn, discovered the mouth of the Columbia, and helped Englishmen and Spaniards to discover or re-discover the Strait, of which a Greek pilot, known as Juan de Fuca, spoke in 1592, saying that it led straight across the continent to the Atlantic[2]; so that old-world fables and old-world international rivalries were revived, and hovered over the British

[1] Daines Barrington, *Miscellanies*, 1781, p. 504.

[2] Between 47° N. lat. and 48° N. lat., Purchas, *Pilgrims*, ed. 1907, vol. xiv, p. 415.

Columbian coast. Then Captain Vancouver was sent out from England, by the Cape of Good Hope and Australia, to dispel these ghosts of a dead past; sailed between Vancouver Island and the mainland (1792); explored and named the creeks and islands of the coast, and amongst others Burke Channel and Bentinck Arm (May and June, 1793). Exactly one month later Canada flashed upon the scene in the person of Sir A. Mackenzie. His route was up the Peace River, over the Peace River Pass, up the Parsnip, down the Fraser to Alexandria, back to the Blackwater affluent of the Fraser, up the banks of the Blackwater, over the Coast Range, and down the Bella Coola to Bentinck Arm and Burke Channel.[1]

e.g. Vancouver and Mackenzie in 1793.

The Scotchman travelling westward across one-third of the world, and the Englishman, sailing eastward over the other two-thirds, all but met in this lonely fiord. Both men were idealists, but there was no common plan; each went about his own business, and between them they ran a girdle round the earth. The so-called all-red route of to-day is an echo of the Vancouver-Mackenzie route of 120 years ago.

Forts or trading-posts followed in Mackenzie's footsteps but slowly. Simon Fraser, while discovering and exploring the Nechaco affluent of the Fraser, built McLeod's fort for the Sikanni, St. James, Fraser (1806), and George Fort (1807) for the Carriers; and thence discovered the mouth of the Fraser from inland (1808), even as the mouths of the Niger and Murray were discovered. These four fur-forts ruled the country of the Fraser from inland and from the north. Then D. W. Harmon went thence to the Babine country on the north, the Babine being tributary to the Skeena, and John Stuart went thence to the Upper Columbia on the south; so that the four forts now connected critical parts of the three principal water-systems of British Columbia (1810–13). Meanwhile, David Thompson explored, and almost exhausted,

Forts McLeod, St. James, Fraser, and George were built and ruled the Middle Fraser, 1806–13, the Upper Skeena, the Upper Kootenay and Columbia,

[1] Captain George Vancouver, *Voyages*, 1790–5, ed. by J. Vancouver, 3 vols, 1798; Sir A. Mackenzie's *Voyages*, ed. by R. Waite, 2 vols., 1903.

the Columbian water-system, from the Canoe River on the north to Fort Astoria (United States), which was founded near its mouth in 1810–11; and amongst other things he founded Fort Kootenay (1807–8), at the head of the Columbia, and completed a circle of travel and commerce between the Kootenay Fort, the Kootenay River (British Columbia and United States), the Kootenay Lake, the Arrow Lakes of the Middle Columbia, and Fort Kootenay (1811).

the N. and S. Thompson and Okanagan.

Then David Stuart reached Okanagan Lake from Astoria, ascended it, crossed to the junction of the Thompsons, which had already been reached from Fort George, and founded Fort Kamloops (1811–13) at the junction[1]. A second circular travel-and-trade way was now complete between the great bend of the Fraser, the Columbia-Kootenay source, the Columbia (British Columbia and United States), the Okanagan, the South Thompson, and the great bend of the Fraser. Like the other irregular circle, it dipped below the border, and its long axis lay north and south, not east and west.

Six Pacific forts were founded from Columbia by sea, 1827–42.

The coast and the coast-tribes seem to have been forgotten since Mackenzie and Frazer; for the valleys drove men north and south, and the Coast Range and coast-tribes checked the white inlanders. Ultimately the coast was reached by fur-forts, but not from the interior. Fort Alexandria (1821),—which eclipsed Fort George,—and the short-lived Fort Chilcotin (after 1826), were founded lower down on or near the Fraser; but the Lower Fraser was not reached from this side. Then settling traders sailed north from the Columbia and founded Forts Langley (1827) on the Lower Fraser, Forts Simpson (1831, 1833) and Essington (1835) on the mouth of the Skeena, Fort McLaughlin (1833), just north of Fitzhugh Sound, and Forts Rupert (1835) and Victoria (1842),[2] on the north-east and south-west respectively of Vancouver Island.

[1] Alexander Ross, *Adventures*, p. 151; Washington Irving, *Astoria*, ed. 1861, p. 285.

[2] Alias Fort Camosun.

The four Fraser forts were disconnected from the coastal forts,

Meanwhile exploring traders pushed north from the four forts to Forts Babine on Lake Babine (1822), and Fort Connolly (1829) on the uppermost Skeena; but these inland forts were as unconnected with the forts on the mouth of the Skeena as the four forts were with Fort Langley. It was easier apparently to get from the inland forts to the Atlantic or Hudson Bay, than to the Pacific coast of Canada.

although they were connected with forts on the Mackenzie and Yukon, 1834–48.

Next, John Macleod (1834 et seq.) and Robert or Roderick Campbell (1838 et seq.) explored the southern tributaries of the Liard, and crossed from the Dease to the Upper Stikine, and others crossed from the Dease to Fort Connolly on the uppermost Skeena. Campbell then followed the northern tributary of the Liard into Frances Lake, which is its origin, and crossed to the Pelly, which he descended to the Yukon (1840–3). Forts were founded on Dease Lake (1838) and the Upper Pelly (1842), and Fort Selkirk was built at the junction of the Yukon and Pelly (1848). The Peel-Porcupine-Yukon route was explored between 1842 and 1846, when Fort Yukon was built at the junction of the Porcupine and Yukon in Alaska, and the Yukon was navigated between Forts Selkirk and Yukon. The earliest news of these remote forts on what was then a new unknown water-system reached England from searchers engaged in the Franklin Relief Expedition,[1] so that the last chapter leads back to the first chapter of this book, as though the narrative ran in a circle. The four forts of the Fraser were now connected with the Liard, the Stikine, the Mackenzie, and the Yukon, but not with the Pacific on Canadian soil.

The settlement of the frontier began to unite inland with coastal forts;

The impulse communicated by the fur-traders of one great company to historical geography had now reached its grand climacteric, and a new force came into play which was single, world-wide, and purely political in its character.

[1] Sir John Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition*, 1851, vol. ii, pp. 204–7; *Papers relating to the Arctic Relief Expedition*, 1850, No. 107, p. 4 (vol. xxxv, p. 184); *Further correspondence connected with the Arctic Expedition*, 1852, No. 1449, pp. 204–5 (vol. l, pp. 878–9).

In 1846 the Anglo-American frontier was fixed at 49° N. lat., but gave Vancouver Island to England, although part of it is south of 49° N. lat. Immediately the scattered posts upon the coast, and the long-drawn lines in the interior, drew together, and one capital for both was selected upon the Pacific.

the history of Victoria and Vancouver Island began;

The Hudson Bay Company, which now governed Vancouver Island, made Victoria the seat of government. Esquimault, which is the twin city of Victoria, became until 1905 the principal British naval station on the Pacific, being as it is the only first-rate Pacific port south of 49° N. lat., except San Francisco (United States) and Acapulco (Mexico). Consequently, whalers and sealers bound for Alaska used Victoria as a dépôt from the first, and fish and lumber began to be exported thence even to the Hawaii Islands. Salmon was exported in barrels from Victoria as early as 1853; and eight British settlers arrived from England at Sooke Harbour twenty miles west of Victoria, in 1849. Coal was worked temporarily at Fort Rupert (1849), then permanently at Nanaimo (1851), which is seventy-three miles north of Victoria, and Victoria soon became to the East Pacific what one Sydney is to the North-west Atlantic, and another Sydney is to the South-west Pacific. These crude facts almost contain a complete epitome of the industrial geography of the island. The canned-salmon trade began to prosper in 1876; the Wellington coal-mines, five miles beyond Nanaimo, in 1871; the Comox coal-mines, sixty miles beyond Nanaimo, in 1888; and Malcolm Islet, opposite old Fort Rupert, yielded coal in 1908. A line of settlements connect Victoria with Wellington, and the sixteen-mile Saanich peninsula north-east of Victoria is fertile and inhabited throughout. Agriculture flourishes round the coal-mines. Otherwise settlements are discontinuous, and consist largely of fishermen and lumberers, who are scattered on many streams, and in many islets. The condition of the island in 1853 and 1910 differs only in degree and most of these differences are due to discoveries of

precious metals. Precious metals have had three effects upon the island history. First, they scattered miners about the mouths of many inlets. Secondly, the connected districts of the island now reach beyond Nanaimo to the opposite side of the island, through the copper-mines of Alberni and Central Lake, where there is cultivable land. A railway is now being built from sea to sea between Nanaimo and Alberni. Not that we know much of the interior even now, and officials wrote in 1908 that 'its Geology and Topography is practically unknown'. Thirdly, Victoria grew with, and became knit to the mainland.

routes were found between the Middle and Lower Fraser;

On the mainland the concentration produced by political events feebly united the Middle and Lower Fraser. In 1846 A. C. Anderson discovered what are now known as the Seton-Anderson-Lillooet route and the Hope-Nicola-Kamloops route between Alexandria on the Middle and Langley on the Lower Fraser,[1] and the first loose links were forged between the coast and the interior. Fraser (1808) and Simpson (1828) had shot through the gorge; but the gorge was impracticable for ordinary purposes, and until 1846 white traders did not cross the Coast Range anywhere. Forts Hope and Yale were then built at or near the lower end of the gorge (1848), in order to bind the uplands with the sea-shore. Nor were they the only bonds between west and east.

between the Upper Columbia, Middle Columbia, and Lower Fraser, just within the Frontier;

On the Middle Columbia, below Arrow Lake, Fort Shephard, which had hitherto been beyond the border, was shifted on to Canadian soil. The east was accessible from the new Fort Shephard without trespassing on the United States—by going up the Lower Kootenay, across Kootenay Lake, then by a short cut which John Sullivan, an assistant of Sir John Palliser, discovered (1859), to the Moyie, and up the Moyie and over a Pass often used by Thompson (1807–11), and so to

[1] A. G. Morice, *History of the North-west Interior of British Columbia*, 1906, p. 253.

the Upper Kootenay at or near Fort Steele, and to the Rockies. But was Fort Shephard accessible from the west? Sir John Palliser reported that with the utmost difficulty he had penetrated in 1859 from Fort Shephard to 119° W. longitude, keeping just within the border; and that a trail made by the Hudson Bay Company ran from the point reached by him to Langley. Thus the Lower Fraser was just connected with the Middle Columbia, which was connected with the Upper Columbia, which was connected with the Canadian prairies, and the through route was all-red, direct, and near the frontier. It was deemed, however, too difficult for use. But strange things were happening in 1859, because gold, which can remove mountains, was already in the air.

and men went from the Upper to the lower Skeena and Stikine.

The Upper and Lower Skeena, and the Upper and Lower Stikine were still more inaccessible one from the other, than the Middle and Lower Fraser, the cause being that jealousy of coastlanders and mountaineers which is universal among savages of different origin. Indeed, Major William Downie was the first white man to pass between the coast-forts and the forts on the Upper Skeena; and this too happened in 1859.

The discovery of gold in the Fraser and Cariboo District united the Middle and Lower Fraser and Okanagan, 1856 et seq.,

Gold not only found out new ways, but transformed British Columbia from a network of trade-centres into a living colony; and its advent was the signal for new developments. It swept like a storm up the American banks of the Columbia from the south, and there were rumours of its coming down the Thompson from the north in April, 1856. In 1857 gold gleaned from the Thompson was minted at San Francisco. In 1858 one red-shirted, armed Californian crowd struggled up overland by the Okanagan to Kamloops, and another sailed into Victoria, where quiet people took them for pirates, and up the Fraser to Hope, near which they winnowed gold-dust from the river in the forbidding gorges of the Fraser. One miner strayed upstream to the Chilcotin

far beyond the gorge, heard from Indians of Horsefly Lake, somewhere out east under the arch of the Great Bend of the Fraser, and found gold there (1858). In 1859 Quesnel River, to the north of Horsefly Lake, and in 1860 Antler Creek, still further north, were found to be auriferous; and Lightning Creek and William (Dietz's) Creek, which are near Antler Creek, and on which Barkerville stands, came as a climax in 1861. Antler on Antler's Creek, and Keighley near the forks of the Quesnel, became towns in 1861, and Barkerville was in 1865, and still is capital of the Cariboo District, as these three new far-off gold-fields were called. Placer gold is still strained there, but since 1893 (c.) by hydraulic machinery, which has superseded individual sieves, and sometimes fails owing to the scanty rainfall.

In 1859 there were less sensational discoveries near Lillooet on the Middle Fraser, on the Similkameen, sixty miles east by south of Hope, and at Rock Creek—119° W. longitude—150 miles east by south of Hope, and just within the frontier. Sir John Palliser, who reached Rock Creek from the east in September of the same year, had heard of the discoveries on the Similkameen, but not of those at Rock Creek. The madding crowd rushed from Hope to Rock Creek through the valley of the Similkameen in 1860.

and caused roads to be built between coast and inland and between north and south,

These events riveted the Middle to the Lower Fraser. The way between Harrison River and Lillooet was perfected, a good coach-road being built over thirty miles of portage before 1862. Simcoe's Yonge Street was also a good coach-road over thirty miles of portage, but that portage was very different to this. Then a coach-road was built from Hope through the great gorge between the Lower and Middle Fraser, past Lytton and Clinton—where another coach-road from Lillooet met it—to Quesnel, Alexandria (1863), and Barkerville (1865), which is 370 miles from Hope. Once more we recall Dundas Street, but there is no analogy east of the Rockies to the country which this great new road

subdued. Parts of it were built by the Royal Engineers, parts by miners, but most by Chinese labourers. Fate strewed its potent gold-bait in the most impossible and important spot, and the greatest obstacle was converted into the greatest aid to development from the coast, whence all immigrants now came except casual Americans, who from time to time drifted in from the south—except, too, those 193 Ontarians whom the fame of the Cariboo mines drew from their homes 3,000 miles away, overland by the Yellowhead Pass, and down the Upper Fraser or the North Thompson to Quesnel and Kamloops (1862). These Ontarians were the first overlanders from Canada, and they came to stay.[1] Indeed, most who came to mine stayed as farmers in the country or traders in the towns. Barkerville, Lillooet, and Kamloops became farming centres and general markets; and the Lower Fraser became what it is to-day—a series of farms, orchards, and fruit-gardens. Langley, Hope, Yale, Lytton, Douglas, Lillooet, and Clinton were described as towns in 1862, all of which lay along the great road; and New Westminster had been built in 1858–9 at the lodge-gate of this long avenue to the gold-fields. Nor was the Hope-Similkameen-Rock Creek trail neglected, over which in 1861 the Governor rode from end to end. Trails as well as roads converged on the Lower Fraser, and the Lower Fraser led to New Westminster, which was provincial capital during the short time that the mainland was detached from Vancouver Island. These trails and roads, for which the gold rush was responsible, are the A.B.C. of British Columbian history, as well as of its geography. They made the dwellers on and beyond the Middle Fraser and its affluents live, and lead one life, and draw breath, so to speak, through one tube from one source, the tube being the Lower Fraser and the source being the Pacific Ocean.

and immigrants to arrive.

The discoveries of gold at

The trail to the Similkameen and Rock Creek also united

[1] See Milton and Cheadle, *North-west Passage by Land*, 1863; Mrs. M. McNaughton, *Overland to Cariboo*, 1896.

the Lower Fraser to outliers of the water-system of the Columbia on or near the American frontier. And that was only the first link in a long chain.

Rock Creek, and Similkameen, 1859,

Part of the Similkameen where gold was found in 1859 constitutes what I have called the ninth longitudinal valley of the Columbia, reckoning from the east. Graziers followed miners into the open uplands in the neighbourhood.

Rock Creek, where gold was found in 1859, is an offshoot of Kettle River, which forms the seventh valley.

near Fort Steele, 1863,

In 1863 Wild Horse Creek (near Fort Steele) was discovered in the first valley; and in 1864 there was a rush thither, but from the south. Said the Governor: 'It was from the American newspapers that I became aware of a rich and prosperous mining town existing within our limits about 500 miles east of New Westminster.' Fort Steele had become a town.

near Okanagan Lake, 1875–6,

In 1875 and 1876 a creek near Kelowna in the eighth valley, where there had been a Roman Catholic mission for nearly twenty years, showed signs of gold, and settlement began on Okanagan Lake. Miners were succeeded by graziers and farmers, and the Lake-lands blossomed into Summer-lands and Peach-lands, which now vie with the Lower Fraser as the fruit-garden of the west.

near Nelson, 1886,

In 1886 Toad Mountain, south of Nelson, began to produce silver and copper near the second valley; and in 1889–91 the Sandon-and-Slocan District, which is north of Nelson, and occupies the third valley, began to produce silver-lead, which was also produced to the east of Nelson at Hot Springs, and Hendryx, near Balfour, at Ainsworth, at Kaslo, and on either side of the second valley.

near Rossland, &c., 1888–92,

The gold-quartz of Rossland and Trail in the fourth valley belongs to the years 1888–92, soon after which Greenwood (Boundary Creek), in the sixth valley, became a copper capital; and Grand Forks in the fifth valley yielded gold.

near Slocan, &c., 1890–1,

In 1890–1 Rossland and Nelson, and before 1893 Sandon,

Slocan, Kaslo, Ainsworth, and Balfour, and between 1895–1897 Greenwood and Grand Forks, sprang into existence; and Nelson soon afterwards became an agricultural and business centre, and began to outstrip Rossland as the inland capital of British Columbia.

near Cranbrook, 1892 et seq.,

Then a wonderful thing happened out east. In the first valley, Fort Steele was the only town south of Golden, 180 miles away. It was the market of a few scattered farms, mostly pastoral. Wild Horse Creek was still running; so were the wild horses after which it was named. The post came once a month, or (1897) week, from Golden. There was a Roman Catholic mission for Indians near. In 1892 miners discovered silver-lead near Kimberley, on St. Mary's River, to the west of it. Then the mission-priest wrote that 'a larger church was needed' for the miners, 'but where to get the money was a hard question. Divine Providence came to the rescue.' In other words, the priest sent out an Indian to the south-west, to St. Eugene on Moyie Lake; and Divine Providence, prompted by the canny priest and clever Indian, brought to light what proved the greatest silver-lead mine in Canada, until Cobalt was discovered. After 1893, and before the discovery of Cobalt, British Columbia produced all but all Canadian silver, which often exceeded £500,000 per annum in value. Cranbrook, which was in 1887 'a large farm'[1] on Thompson's trail to the Moyie, was built a few years later, and supplanted Fort Steele as local capital.

near Hedley, &c., 1908,

And a wonderful thing happened out west. In or near the ninth valley, Hedley was discovered in 1896, and became in 1908 the largest gold-producing camp in British Columbia. Princeton is the chief town here, although Osoyoos, in the fertile Okanagan valley, is the official local capital.

and of coal at Crow's Nest, 1891 et seq.,

Meanwhile the coal of Fernie—near Crow's Nest Pass and fifty miles east of Fort Steele—which geologists described as 'little known' in 1889, and as 'phenomenal' in 1891,

[1] J. A. Lees and W. J. Clutterbuck, *British Columbia*, p. 210.

attracted its railway from the east. Passing west from Fernie (pop. 1,540[1]) there were already nine stepping-stones of solid rock-hewn gold, silver, and copper at Cranbrook (pop. 1,196[1]), Moyie (pop. 582[1]), Nelson (pop. 5,273[1]), Trail (pop. 1,350[1]), Rossland (pop. 6,159[1]), Grand Forks (pop. 1,012[1]), Greenwood (pop. 1,359[1]), Osoyoos, and Princeton (pop. 316[1]); and Princeton was on the way to the coal-district of Nicola. The fact that each of these towns is near the frontier would suggest to a European a strategic road or railway. A road has been, and a railway is being built, but it is as little strategic as natural; and it is certainly not natural, for it cuts straight across the grain, hitting more than nine rivers and many more mountains at right angles. The roads and railways—for both were built piecemeal—were purely mineral. The section of railway, which was available in 1898 between Crow's Nest Pass and Kootenay Lake, followed more or less a trail, most of which was used by miners in the Sixties, and by Sullivan and David Thompson long ago. The Nelson-Greenwood-Midway section is complete; and a further section to Osoyoos, Princeton, and Yale, or to Spence Bridge via Nicola, or to some other point on the Lower Fraser, will be probably ready before this book. If so, a second through-railway will zigzag from the tidal waters of the west, certainly to Alberta, possibly to Red River, always within fifty miles of the frontier, attesting the triumph not of political idealism, nor of strategy, but solely of gold, silver, copper, and coal over Nature.

caused frontier roads and railways to be built, 1898 et seq.

The first through-railway was built long before; but its origin was political, and the mineral-thread must be followed further afield before politics are broached.

The gold-thread led north beyond Quesnel and the four fur-forts. The Parsnip was reached in 1861,[2] the Findlay in 1862,[3] the Omineca, which is a western affluent of the

Gold discoveries took men north from the four forts to the

[1] Population 1901.

[2] By 'Bill Cust'.

[3] By Pete Toy.

Upper Peace, Skeena, and Liard, 1861 et seq.

Findlay, in 1864, Germanson, Vital, and Manson Creeks, which belong to the Omineca and Findlay, in 1867 [1]; after which miners rushed to the Omineca, sometimes from the south, but usually up the Skeena, by Hazelton and the Babine, from the western Ocean. The Omineca is still haunted by gold-seekers, and the Findlay drew fresh crowds in 1908. In 1861 the Stikine was searched for gold between Glenora and Telegraph Creek—so called because of a projected telegraph-wire between America and Asia, which reached it from Bulkley Valley and Hazelton in 1866–7; and miners went further upstream and crossed to Dease Lake, where miners from the east found gold among the Cassiar Mountains in 1872. Here a little alluvial and a very little quartz mining still continues. We are now near 60° N. latitude, where British Columbia ends; and in these northern latitudes Fate spun its threads more and more from the east and the west, and less and less from the south, and every thread was thin. After this point it snapped, and made a new beginning more than four degrees further north in Yukon.

Gold discoveries on the Yukon had a separate beginning near the Arctic Circle, 1880, &c.,

The mineral history of Yukon began in 1880. Stewart River, sixty miles above Dawson, on the east of the Yukon, was worked in 1885; Forty Mile Creek, below Dawson, on the west of the Yukon, in 1886; and Sixty-Mile Creek, between the Stewart and Dawson, on the west of the Yukon, in 1893. The Klondike, whose river-mouth is at Dawson, was being gradually approached; and its gold was discovered late in 1896. Immediately Canadian gold rose to equality with that of South Africa and Australia. During seven years the output of gold from the Yukon was nearly worth three millions a year; while the annual output of British Columbia, then at its zenith, exceeded one million for the first time in 1901, and was £1,126,108 in 1906. British Columbia nowadays just surpasses Yukon in its annual production of gold, Yukon producing £1,120,000 in 1906; moreover,

[1] Compare Sir W. Butler, *Wild North Land*, pp. 300 et seq.

British Columbian gold is more than three-fourths rock-gold, and is therefore permanent, while Yukon gold is wholly gravel or placer gold, and is therefore of doubtful permanence. The usual mob flowed and ebbed from creek to creek of the Klondike, and plied the usual tools, with simple devices for thawing buried river-beds; and, as might be expected, hydraulic machinery superseded the work of men's hands before 1908. Meanwhile, Yukon began to resemble a province. Dawson was founded in 1897, and in 1901 had over 9,000 inhabitants. The Royal North-West Mounted Police arrived there among the first; in consequence of which, pistols, locks, and keys are scarce, because useless, although the riff-raff of the wild west often drifts thither from Alaska. Horses were plentiful there in 1899, and motors in 1908, for the roads are good. In 1897 the first Canadian overlander arrived via the Mackenzie, Peel, and Porcupine[1]; and in 1898 via the Liard and Pelly. In 1900 the Governor-General paid his first visit, coming by Lynn's Canal, the new White Pass Railway, and the river steamers of the Yukon. Minerals and coal soon stimulated expansion up and down stream. Tertiary coal was worked on the right bank of the Yukon, between Dawson and the north-east frontier (1899), and at Tantalus between Selkirk and Bennett (1906). Selkirk at the Pelly-Lewes junction had a few cabins in 1899, and is now a centre for hay-and-potato farms. The Upper Stewart (north-east of Selkirk) and Livingstone Creek (near Tantalus) yielded gold (1898); Whitehorse, the railway terminus, yielded copper (c. 1908); and Kluane, on the northern slopes of the St. Elias, 143 miles by wagon-road from Whitehorse, also yielded copper (1903). Bennett Lake, still further upstream, is connected with two parallel north-pointing lakes on the east—Lakes Tagish and Atlin—which, like Lake Bennett, are wholly or mainly in British Columbia. On Lake Atlin and Lake Tagish (Windy Arm) there were

progressing from north to south at or near 60° N. lat.

[1] Mr. William Langworthy of Edmonton.

gold discoveries of some importance in 1898 and 1907 respectively; and west of Bennett, but reached usually by the Chilcat Pass from Lynn's Canal, copper was worked at Rainy Hollow in 1898. The mineral thread has now been retraced from the extreme north—not indeed to the very spot, but to the very parallel where its progress to the north was interrupted. In its progress east and west along the southern frontier of British Columbia agricultural invariably accompanied mineral development. This has hardly been the case, except on a very humble scale, north of Barkerville.

Enthusiasm for political unity caused the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway,

The final impulse towards development came from idealists, whose idealism, mad as it once seemed, proved to be sober sense, and their faith to be wisdom in disguise. When its godmother named British Columbia, and gave her name to its capital, she expressed her 'hopes that this new colony might be but one step . . . by which . . . her dominions might ultimately be peopled in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic to the Pacific by a loyal and industrious population.'[1] Echoes of the Psalms[2] and a sense of British greatness brooded over its birth, and a spirit of national rivalry stimulated its growth. Alfred Waddington complained in 1868 that the new colony was 'entirely indebted to the United States' for the carriage of its letters and immigrants, and even its food; others too wrote in the same strain. In 1871 the new colony joined the Dominion, in order that it might lean on the east rather than on the south, and stipulated for a through-railway to the Atlantic, like that which San Francisco had already. The railway was to be a symbol and instrument of union with Eastern Canada, and for this purpose was to pass through two thousand miles or more of solitude. A passionate desire for the union of Canada with itself made Canadians run risks of what seemed certain material ruin.

for which two routes were proposed,

Two of the proposed routes for this railroad, which

[1] Queen's Speech, 1858: Hansard, Ser. iii, vol. cli, p. 2372.

[2] 'He shall have dominion also from sea to sea.'

visionaries set to work to build through vacancy, may be recalled. Its first proposed course lay through the Yellowhead Pass, by the Upper Fraser, Forts George and Fraser, the Bulkley Valley, and Hazelton to Port Simpson; with variants or tentacles from the Upper to the Middle Fraser, and so either to Gardner Canal, Dean Channel, or Bute Inlet, up which last Waddington built a road at his own expense in 1864. All these routes are natural routes and have been described[1]; but were rejected on the ground that they led nowhither. The inlets to which they led were as vacant as the great spaces which were traversed. A further proposal to build a bridge across the archipelago from Bute Inlet to Vancouver Island, and so reach the capital, was too expensive to be adopted. The second, which is the actual route of the Canadian Pacific Railway, crosses the Kicking Horse Pass over the Rockies, and Rogers' Pass over the Selkirks, which passes resemble two Brenner Passes in quick succession; and a third easy pass over the Gold Range called the Eagle Pass; after which it passes through the broad lovely Thompson Valley, which is comparatively civilized, through the narrow gloomy Fraser Gorge, which a road already traversed, and through the fertile levels of the Lower Fraser to the neighbourhood of New Westminster, where Burrard's Inlet was the terminus. At Burrard's Inlet there was nothing but high thick trees and deep still water, when the railway reached it. Immediately after it was reached, Vancouver City sprang up like the prophet's gourd, and in 1901 was more populous (26,133[2]), and is now far more populous, than Victoria (20,816[2]), although Victoria is the prettiest and oldest town in western Canada, and has gained by whatever has happened in the province during sixty years or more.

one to Vancouver, creating settlement as it was built,

On the railway-track Golden (pop. 705[2]), Revelstoke (pop. 1,600[2]), Kamloops (pop. 1,594[2]), and Ashcroft (pop. 475[2]); and south of it, Vernon (pop. 802[2]) on Lake Okanagan, Arrowhead, on Lake Arrow, Kaslo (pop. 1,680[2]) on Lake

[1] *Ante*, pp. 253–4.

[2] Population 1901.

Kootenay, and Gerrard, on Trout Lake, owed their growth to the railway or its branches, but Vancouver City owed its very existence to the railway. The biggest town in the colony was created by a railway out of nothing in a moment.

the other by the route now adopted by the G. T. P. Railway, which is also creating settlement.

Why, it was asked, could not this miracle be repeated? The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, which is now being built over what I have described as the first projected course for the first main railway, is the answer to the question. Prince Rupert, its proposed terminus near Port Simpson, was vacant in 1907, and had 4,000 inhabitants in 1909. There are farmers already in the Bulkley Valley, and some copper and coal. Opposite Prince Rupert are the Queen Charlotte Islands, Graham Island in the north, Moresby Island in the south, like Corsica and Sardinia halved in size. Cretaceous coal has been known (1859), and worked a little from time to time (1871, 1890), in the south of Graham Island; and copper was worked by Francis Poole (1862–4),[1] and is now being worked, amongst others, by the Japanese of Ikeda Bay in the south of Moresby Island. Coal extends into the heart of the northern island, right amongst its mountains, 5,000 feet high, and its all-pervading forests, where cattle run wild. The climate is mild, and everything except mankind abundant. The new through-railway is already beginning to galvanize these islands, and many an inlet on the mainland into life.

Bella Coola settlement is detached and was created otherwise than by railway, 1894.

One inlet began to be civilized long after it was known that the Canadian Pacific Railway would send no branches that way, and long before the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway existed. This was Bella Coola Inlet. A group of Norwegians, who had formerly settled in Minnesota (United States), began to hanker after mountains and seas, like those in the home of their fathers. Accordingly, under the leadership of their pastor, seventy-five went north in October, 1894, furnished themselves with supplies in Winnipeg, which became their base of operations, and took the train for Vancouver.

[1] Francis Poole, *Queen Charlotte Islands*, 1872.

Thence they sailed to Bella Coola Inlet, where Vancouver and Mackenzie just failed to meet a century ago, and formed a nucleus around which their kith and kin from afar clustered. In 1906 wagon-roads penetrated twenty-two miles, and settlers occupied seventy-five miles of the valley, and were still pushing towards the Middle Fraser. If, as is probable, a third railway is built along the Middle Fraser between the Upper and Lower Fraser, it will be partly a junction-line between the two great political lines, partly a mineral line for the Cariboo and Lillooet Districts; and if, as is also probable, it should some day send out a spur to Bella Coola, this spur will be wholly due to the agricultural enterprize of these pioneers, and will be unique in British Columbia, where railways have usually been the cause, not the effect, of agriculture, and where colonizing communities are as rare as lumber-camps, canneries, and Indian villages—served by a trader and a missionary in true Pacific fashion—are common on its coastal indentations. The story of the peopling of Bella Coola recalls the Icelanders of Gimli, and reads like a distant recollection of Prairie-land.

Statistical Résumé.

The following statistics explain themselves; they are somewhat belated; but more recent statistics are not available for comparative purposes:—

	Total	*Population* × 1000 *in* 1901				
		British Origin[1]	*Chinese and Japanese*	*American Indians*	*Half-breeds*	*Others*
British Columbia	178·6	106·4	19·5	25·5[2]	3·5[3]	24[4]
Yukon	27	10·6	·1	3·3	·02	13[5]

[1] Includes Americans; half (53,000) are of English as opposed to Scotch or Irish origin.

[2] = $\frac{2}{7}$ of all the Indians in all Canada.

[3] = $\frac{1}{10}$ of all the half-breeds in all Canada.

[4] French (Canadians) = 4·6; Germans = 5·8; Scandinavians = 4·8, &c.

[5] Fr. Can. = 1·8; Germans = 2·1; Scand. = 1·6; Unknown = 6·6, &c.

The population nearly doubles in ten years, but Indians were 25,000 in 1881, as well as in 1901 :—

Population of	1871	1881	1891	1901
British Columbia	36	49·5	98	178·6

Population × 1,000 includes Indians, &c.

Men born in Canada form the vast majority; and men born elsewhere in the British Empire are twice as many as those born in the United States :—

Year	*Born in Canada*	*Elsewhere in Br. Empire*	*Total Br. Empire*	*Born in U. S.*	*Born elsewhere*	*Total foreign*
1881	68	11	79	5	16	21
1901	56	18	74	9	17	26

Birthplaces of the population by percentages.

Emigration from Eastern Canada is the chief feature in the situation, although Emigration from Great Britain has also left traces more deep than numerous. Chinese and Japanese immigrants are conspicuous here, as they are, or have been, in every Pacific Dominion and colony. The Far East of Asia casts its shadow over the Far West of Canada; but not, to an appreciable extent, over Central or Eastern Canada. Although Chinamen wash linen from Louisbourg to Victoria, nearly thirteen out of every fourteen Chinese residents in Canada resided in British Columbia in 1901, and the disproportion has increased since then.

The prospects of B. C.

British Columbia and the provinces of Prairie-land are the newest provinces of the Dominion of Canada. All of them are totally unlike the rest of the Dominion; and British Columbia is the very antithesis of Prairie-land. British Columbia is all mountain and the prairie is dead level. The

dead levels are being peopled at lightning speed; the mountain province, though covering an area equal to Austria and the United Kingdom, has far less inhabitants than square miles. In discussing its population we are discussing its future; and its future depends on two unknown factors.

First, what will happen in China, Japan, and the Pacific? Will China awaken? Will Japan trade more and more with Europeans? Will the Panama Canal and Western America make the Pacific as busy, or anything like as busy, as the Atlantic? After all, the Atlantic was as lifeless a few centuries ago as the Pacific was a few decades ago; and in human history centuries count for little.

Secondly, will British enterprise be as successful among the mountains, as it has been among the bare plains and interminable forests of Eastern and Central Canada, and among the park-lands of Australia? British colonists have rarely, if they have ever, grappled with mountains. Mountains are a comparatively new factor in British history, and in European history symbolize slow progress and secluded lives. Statistics of size and pace must not dazzle us; small numbers multiply with delusive rapidity, especially under the stimulus of mineral wealth, and colonists must not be expected on mountain-tops.

On the other hand, British Columbia is in many respects the greatest, as it is the grandest, of the provinces; and into it its eastern neighbours are still draining their superfluous numbers and riches, a process which is likely to grow more and more common. Their future is assured, and it is their residuary legatee.

Is B.C. like every other Province of Canada a link between east and west?

What was said in every chapter of this book holds of British Columbia. Nova Scotia Province is the link with Europe, New Brunswick with Quebec *plus* Ontario; Ontario, at all events out west, is a mere link with the provinces of Prairie-land; and British Columbia is also a link between what is east and west of it, between continent, and ocean, and what is beyond the ocean, and its future depends wholly

upon the next links on its east and west. Looked at by itself, its development ran along its valleys or coasts, which lie north, and south, or north-west and south-east, contrasting in this respect with that of every other province of Canada. Looked at as a part of Canada, it is the end of a series and depends solely on its eastern sister-provinces. But Canada itself resembles a link in a larger chain, a word in the middle of a sentence, or a hyphen between two half-words. The whole, of which it is an essential part, is the British Empire, which seems working towards unity in a way which our ancestors never contemplated. The unity is due to geographical facts, the most important of which are that the provinces of Canada lie in this order, east and west, and that Great Britain is the only European Power, except Russia, which holds continents or half-continents on the western side of the Pacific. Purely political ideals welded these provinces together; and it is possible that purely political ideals will weld these continents and half-continents together. Vast economic results have ensued from what political idealism has already achieved; but economics have not supplied the motives of the process. The series of provinces points from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and the continuation of the series across the Atlantic points to England, and the continuation of the series across the Pacific points to Australia and India, and thence by South Africa and an island chain respectively to England. The chain which is being run round the earth is not exclusive; indeed, in all its links it touches some other European power; and in North America, which contains its most important series of continuous links, every part of every link is continuous with the United States of America for many thousands of miles.

Nor has it any prospect of proving to be an exclusive chain even in the least of its links; but it has a far better prospect of proving to be a complete chain than any which any other Power upon the surface of the earth possesses.

The dumb consciousness of this paramount mission has been the mainspring, economic and material factors have only been wheels within wheels, carrying on the British race irresistibly towards their common destiny.

The processes are very complex, and work sometimes in obedience to, and sometimes in spite of design, sometimes like automata and sometimes like an unspoken instinct, but work in harmony; and the harmonious working of different tendencies is the greatest driving force, just as sane idealism is the greatest ruling force in history.

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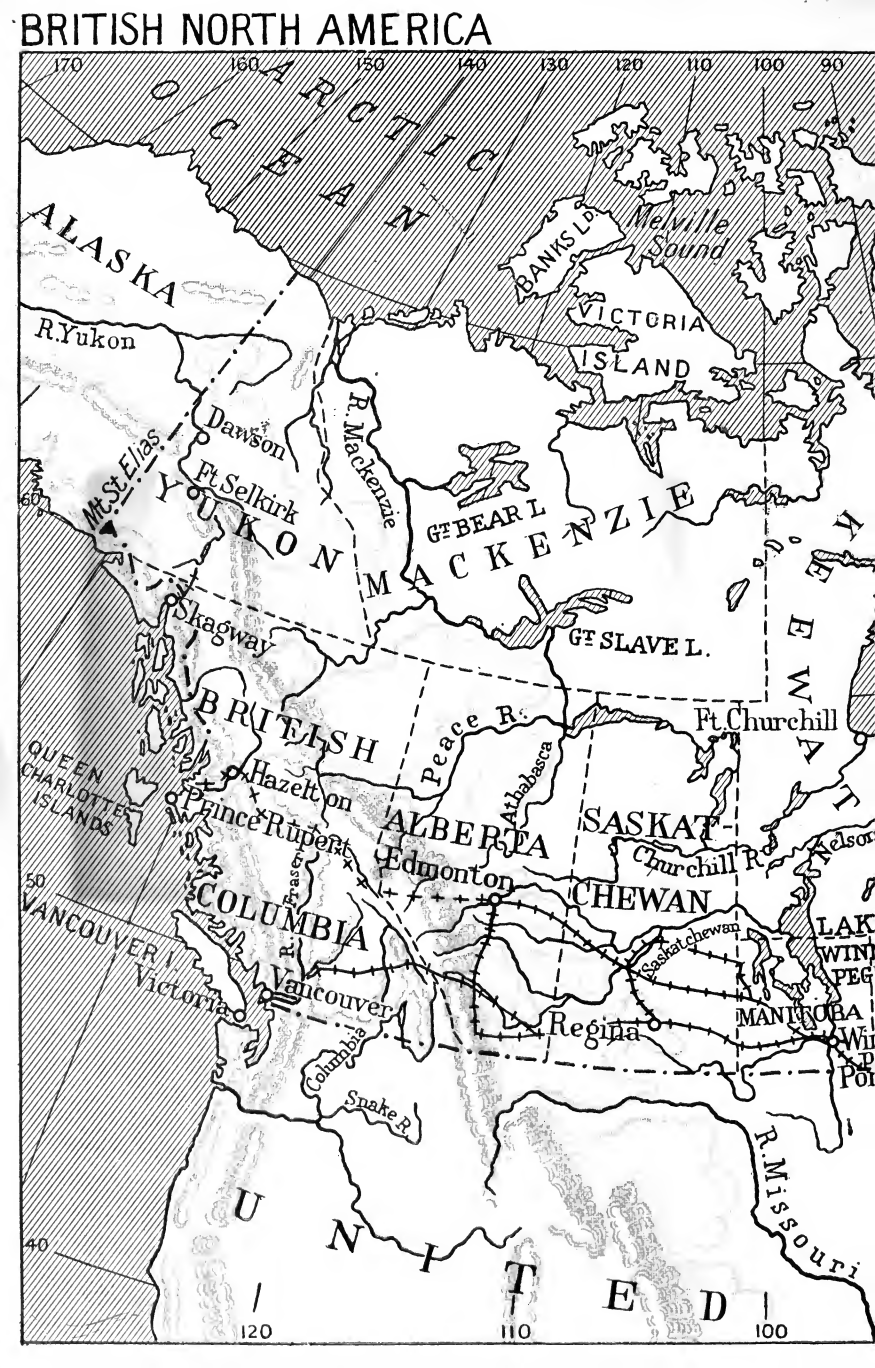
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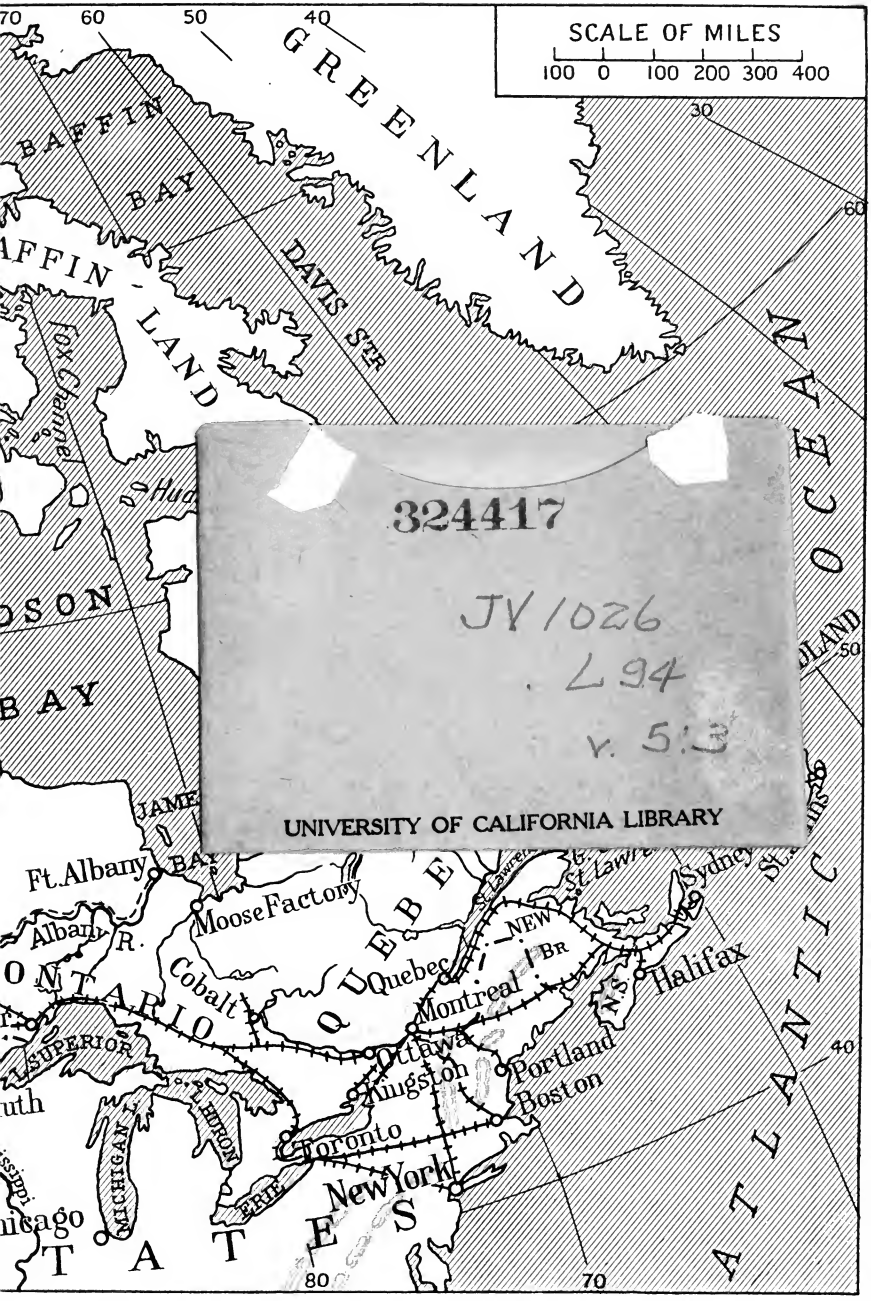

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